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Library
of
University of Michigan
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From Mrs B. F. Perry. Wife
Gov. Benjamin Franklin R
Sams Souci. Greenville
South Carolina.
Easter. April 21. 18

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES
OF
Eminent American Statesmen

WITH
SPEECHES, ADDRESSES AND LETTERS

BY
EX-GOVERNOR B. F. PERRY.
OF GREENVILLE, S. C.,

INTRODUCTORY BY SENATOR WADE HAMPTON.

PREFACED BY AN
OUTLINE OF THE AUTHOR'S LIFE.

THE FERREE PRESS.
PHILADELPHIA.
1887.



THIS VOLUME
IS COMPILED AND PUBLISHED
BY THE WIFE
IN MEMORY OF THE BELOVED AND DEVOTED HUSBAND,
WHO, DURING A MARRIED LIFE OF FIFTY YEARS,
FOUND IN HIS CHARACTER AND LIFE
ONLY WHAT SHE COULD
LOVE, HONOR, AND BE PROUD OF,
AND WHOSE CARE IT IS
THAT THE MEMORY OF HIS VIRTUES
AND THE EXAMPLE OF HIS
NOBLE DEVOTION TO HIS DUTY AND HIS COUNTRY
SHALL BE
PRESERVED FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

SANS SOUCI, GREENVILLE, SO, CAROLINA.

P R E F A C E .

THE first series of Governor Perry's writings were published in book form in 1833—Reminiscences of Public Men. When that volume met with public favor, it was promised that a second one would be forthcoming. The entire edition of said Reminiscences having been exhausted, we now fulfil our promise, in issuing the second, as Sketches of Eminent American Statesmen.

The best evidence of a man's value in the world, and of his character, is given by those who have felt and seen his work, and known his life by direct observation of it and contact with him.

The author, Governor B. F. Perry, being now deceased, it has been thought well to publish with these Sketches, an outline-sketch of his noble and useful life, and a compilation of the expressions regarding him, evoked by his death, from the newspaper and leading men of his State, where he was most intimately known ; from the Legislature, and from the Bar and Courts where he practised so many years.

Should this volume meet with equal favor, another will be published, containing a biography and copies from the private journal of the author.

HENRY M. PERRY, M. D.

Phila., Pa., June 14, 1887.

INTRODUCTION

BY

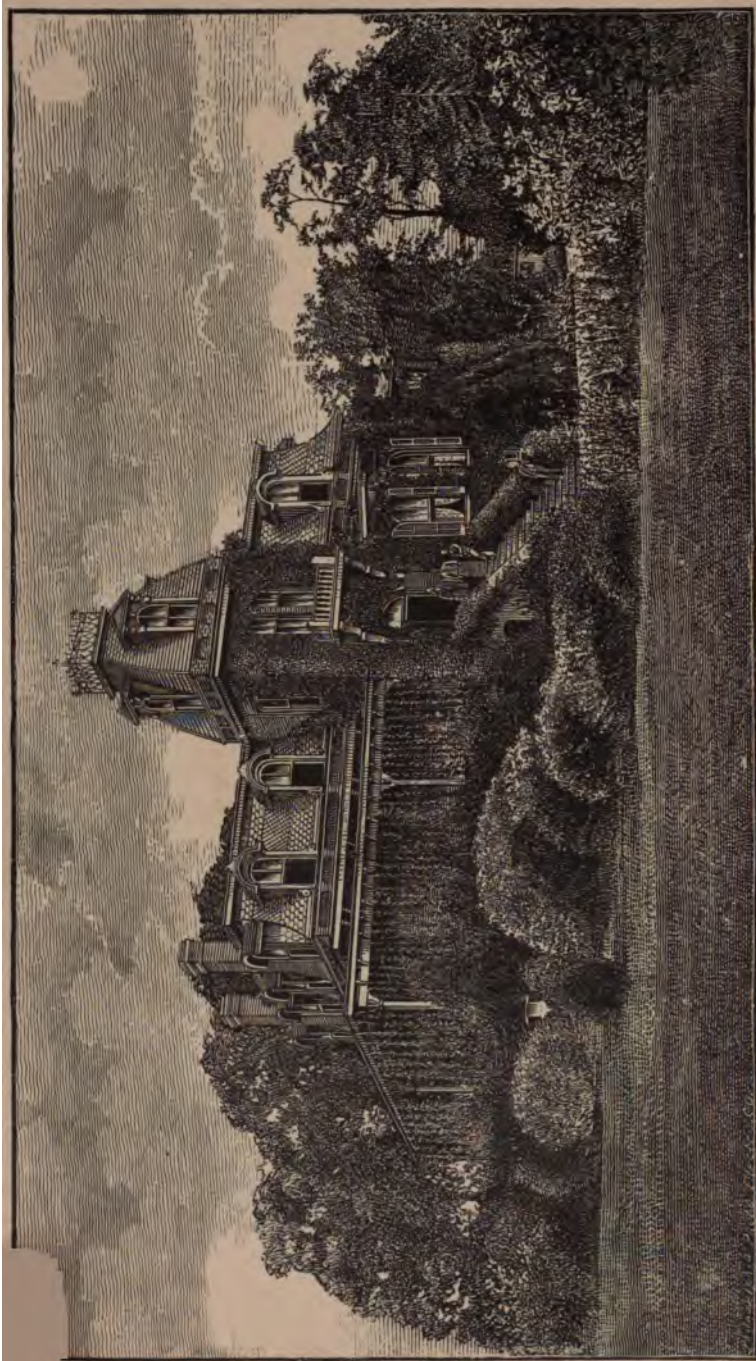
SENATOR WADE HAMPTON.

THE public are indebted for this volume to her, who, for many years, was the devoted wife, the living helpmate of its distinguished author, and this fact lends a pathetic interest to the work itself. MRS. PERRY, though advanced in years, and bowed down by a great grief, assumed the task of compiling and arranging for publication the writings of her husband, and no tribute to the memory of the dead patriot and statesman could be more appropriate, or more touching than this offered by her loving heart. No monument to perpetuate his name and his fame could so arouse the universal sympathy of our people as does this simple memorial of her devotion to him and of her reverence for his memory.

The volume now submitted to the public contains several of the addresses made by Governor PERRY on various occasions; sketches of public men; and some other papers from different sources, showing the estimation in which he was held by his fellow-citizens. Of the sketches, some have been published in local newspapers, while others have never been in print. It is deemed advisable that these writings of Governor PERRY, which will make a valuable contribution to the history of our times, should be put in some permanent and enduring form, so as to be accessible to all, and when they can instruct and benefit those to whom the destiny of our State will be committed in the future. The friends of Governor PERRY, amongst whom the whole people of his native State are included, will be pleased to see his

literary work rescued from oblivion, and preserved in a shape worthy of its author.

Every line that he wrote, every word that he uttered on public affairs were inspired by an ardent patriotic desire to promote the best interests of his State, and in the light of the great events which have transpired in the last quarter of a century, many of his utterances *have proved as pregnant with wisdom as with patriotism*. It is proper, therefore, that these utterances of his should be placed within the reach of the young men of our State, for they came from a man whose highest ambition was to do his duty, and to serve his people. Than this there can be no nobler ambition, no higher incentive to human conduct. During his long, eventful and honorable career, he followed with unshaken constancy his convictions of duty, and neither the applause of the people, nor their censure, ever diverted him from the path pointed out by his judgment and his conscience. He always sought earnestly that which was right, and when he conceived that he had found it, he pursued it with undeviating resolution, regardless of all personal considerations. No allurements of political power could tempt him to forsake his principles or to soil his conscience. No threats of political ostracism could daunt him. Of him it might well have been said, what HENRY CLAY once declared, "That he would rather be right than be President." The example of such a life as Governor Perry's, so pure, so unsullied in all its private and public relations, cannot fail to exert a wholesome and elevating influence wherever it is known, and in this view the following volume possesses great intrinsic value, for it gives the opinions, the feeling, the very thoughts of the writer, expressed with perfect frankness and with commendable impartiality.



"SANS SOUCI"

RESIDENCE OF EX-GOVERNOR B. F. PERRY.

AN OUTLINE OF
GOVERNOR PERRY'S LIFE.

BY A. B. WILLIAMS.

Benjamin Franklin Perry was born November 20th, 1805, in what is now Oconee county, but was then part of Pendleton district. He was of Revolutionary stock, his father being a native of Massachusetts of English descent, who fought in the Continental army, and his mother, Miss Foster, a daughter of John Foster, of Virginia, who was a lieutenant in the regular American army. He and Commodore Oliver Perry were of common ancestry, springing from the same English stock.

Governor Perry's father came from Charleston, whither he went in 1784, met his wife in Greenville, and was married there. He removed to Oconee and engaged in farming. B. F. Perry worked on his father's farm and went to school until he was sixteen, when he was sent to Asheville, N. C., where he studied languages, making astonishing progress by the great capacity for labor, and the retentive memory developed even at that early age. He learnt the Latin grammar in one week. While at Asheville, when only sixteen, he wrote and published an article advocating the claims of Mr. Calhoun for the Presidency, thus early showing the interest he felt in his country's welfare. Mr. Calhoun at that time was opposed to State Rights.

He came to Greenville, then a small backwoods village, in 1824, and began the study of law in the office of Judge Earle. At the age of nineteen he was chosen to deliver an oration on the 4th of July, at Greenville.

In 1827 he was admitted to the bar, having finished

his course under Colonel James Gregg, of Columbia. He returned to Greenville and began the practice of law for the western circuit.

In 1832 he first became conspicuous in politics, and appeared as a leader in the fight for the preservation of the Union that he continued to wage twenty-eight years against the overwhelming sentiment of the State. He became the editor of the *Mountaineer* and quickly made it the recognized organ of the union party of the State. Immense majorities of the people were against him, led by almost all the talent, learning, and social and political power, with John C. Calhoun, the idol of the State, at their head promulgating his theories of nullification and finding almost unanimous endorsement. Governor Perry was a delegate to the union convention held at Columbia in 1832, and represented that county, being elected at the head of the ticket, in the general convention of the people of the State called in the fall of the same year.

It was during this period that the famous duel with Bynum occurred. It was caused by a political quarrel, and with the spirit and the code of morals of the time it could not be avoided. Governor Perry rarely alluded to it afterward, and then always with sorrow, but it is understood that the quarrel was accepted by him as a deliberate test of his courage intended to destroy his influence if he failed to endure it successfully. All accounts agree that he bore himself with good temper, unfaltering courage and dignity, and that while he deplored the unfortunate result to the end of his life, and from that time persistently refused to engage in affairs of honor, he could justly be held blameless.

In 1834 Governor Perry, then twenty-nine years old, was the union nominee for congress in this district, then Mr. Calhoun's, against Warren R. Davis, and was defeated by a majority of 60 in a poll of 7,000. Mr. Davis dying before he could take his seat, Governor Perry again became the candidate of his party against

General Thompson, but was disabled by an accident early in the canvass, and again suffered defeat. In 1836 he was elected to the State legislature without opposition. There he maintained and was the leading exponent of the principles he had always held. He opposed the agitation of the slavery question, and was a warm and conspicuous advocate of the Louisville and Cincinnati railroad. He was re-elected in 1838, and as chairman of the committee on claims became noted for his ceaseless guardianship of the State's interests and his unrelenting hostility to all that was tainted with extravagance or subject to suspicion. On the floor he was the leader of the element that persistently demanded and fought for changes in the system of State government and the increase of the power of the people. All prisoners were then confined in the county jails, the governor and presidential electors were chosen by the legislature, and by the parish system the lower part of the State was given what Governor Perry and those who followed him believed to be undue representation in the senate. Against all these things he fought, urging the establishment of a penitentiary, the choice of governor and electors by popular vote, and the equalization of the representation of the up country and low country. He was almost invariably defeated in the legislature, but retained the confidence and support of the people he represented.

In 1844 he was elected to the State senate, and while a member of that body voted alone against the resolution ordering the expulsion from the State of Mr. Hoar, who was sent here by the State of Massachusetts. Every other senator voted for it, but Governor Perry spoke energetically against it, and had his solitary vote recorded on the negative side, declaring that hostile majorities had no terrors for him while he was conscientiously performing his duty. He was defeated by Governor Orr in another contest for congress, the stand of the latter in favor of General Taylor securing for him

the whig vote in addition to the part of the democratic vote he commanded. Governor Perry was chosen by the legislature an elector at large for this State to vote for Cass for president. He was one of the fathers of the Greenville and Columbia railroad, and his powerful influence and untiring energy contributed much to its successful building.

In 1850, the secession and disunion feeling rose so high in South Carolina that it was said the State was a unit in breaking up the government and forming a new Confederacy. Governor Perry, however, remained "faithful amongst the faithless," and boldly proclaimed his opposition to secession and disunion, as destructive of liberty and the *very institutions* of the South for the preservation of which the Union was to be dissolved. He suggested the propriety of establishing a Union paper at Greenville after every newspaper in the State had gone over to secession and espoused the cause of disunion. He thought it would be a rallying point for the dismembered and broken Union party throughout the State, and perhaps be the means of checking disunion. Some of his personal friends came to him and said if he persevered in establishing his newspaper, neither his life nor his property would be safe. His reply deserves being repeated. He said: "I will go on with the paper if it sinks my fortune and sacrifices my life!" The crowning glory of Governor Perry's life is the more than Roman courage with which he took this position. No one living out of the State can adequately appreciate the terrific excitement of the people at this dangerous crisis. Governor Perry boldly assumed the editorial department of the paper. The difficult and dangerous path which was before him he trod with courage, patriotism, wisdom and high courtesy, which have won the respect and admiration of even his opponents.

He was again elected to the legislature and he and his two colleagues from this county were the only union

men in the body, this being the one county that stood for that side. In the house Governor Perry delivered a ringing, bold speech, defending the Union and denouncing the efforts to break it, and declared that he intended to have that speech printed and published and handed down as a legacy to his country and his children—a promise which he faithfully kept. It was the first check the secession movement received in this State at that time, and was copied and quoted from one end of the country to the other. He was a member of the State convention in 1851, and as a member of the committee of twenty-one appointed to prepare business, prepared and submitted an able minority report dissenting from the resolutions prepared and presented by Judge Cheves, which defended the right of secession but declined to use it at that time.

In 1860 Governor Perry was one of the delegates from this State to the famous Charleston convention of the democratic party. He refused to withdraw with the other delegates from this State and remained, voting steadily for R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, as the candidate of the party for president.

The galleries hissed him every time he rose to vote, and when he rose to speak the hissing became so loud and continuous that he could with difficulty proceed. The chairman, Mr. Cushing, threatened to clear the galleries, but the man who had faced and defied angry multitudes and put his life and property in jeopardy a score of times was not the one to be frightened by such demonstrations. "Let them remain, Mr. Chairman," he said in the deep, strong tones and deliberate manner always characteristic of him, "I would like them to hear what I have to say." And they did hear him while he spoke with all his power for the unity of the great democratic party, and declared that on its success depended the life of the Union. As is well remembered, his urging was of no avail. The party split and nominated two candidates, and Abraham Lincoln was elected.

In 1860 an election was ordered for a convention of the people of South Carolina to declare the Union dissolved. Governor Perry fought secession then as he had fought it and nullification before. He predicted the war and the defeat of the South, and urged that it was folly to secede with a democratic majority in congress, in the supreme court and in the country. But the wave overpowered him. He went down flying his colors to the last and raising his voice for the Union. Greenville county was carried along in the rush, and B. F. Perry, James P. Boyce and Chief Justice O'Neill, the union candidates for the convention, were defeated, Governor Perry being beaten in his own county the first time in thirty years. But when the secession ordinance was adopted he yielded to the will of the majority and went with his State. "You are all going to the devil and I will go with you," was his good-humored announcement of his purpose. From that time he was unswerving in his loyalty to the Confederacy. Being then fifty-six years old he could not enter active service himself, but his eldest son was sent to the front, and Governor Perry supported the government with voice, service and purse. During the war he served as member of the legislature, Confederate commissioner, district attorney and district judge.

In the misfortunes brought on by disregard of his advice Governor Perry shared with his people. He stood by them with conspicuous firmness and boldness in the dark hours after the war. He was not only with the people, but felt with them, and some of his speeches of that time gave evidence of the bitterness that was then over the spirit of the South. But without the solicitation of himself or his friends he was chosen by President Johnson the provisional governor of the State. The appointment was received with universal satisfaction. Governor Perry's consistent record as a union man won for him the good will of the North, and he already possessed the full confidence of the people of this State.

His strength of character and intellect, and cool, sound judgment fitted him well to guide the State through that stormy time. Quiet dignity and the purpose to restore the State to peace and prosperity marked his conduct during his administration of six months. He ignored all party claims and alliances, appointed to fill the offices those persons who had occupied them at the close of the war, obtained an order abolishing the military tribunals that had been trying civil and criminal cases, so far as white persons were concerned, and restored the confidence of the people by refusing to levy or collect taxes, and using the pardoning power liberally. Under his government the first election after the war was held, resulting in the choice of the Hon. J. L. Orr. Meantime Governor Perry had labored actively in behalf of the State with the Federal administration, and succeeded in making an impression on the president and Secretary Seward, which doubtless did much to mitigate the rigor of her treatment. The legislature elected and in session during Governor Perry's term did much of the work he had given his energies to against such opposing odds during many years. The parish system he had fought so hard was abolished, the right of electing governor and presidential electors was given to the people, the penitentiary was established, and the courts of law and equity were amalgamated, and the State was separated from all connection with banks.

At the expiration of his service as governor he returned to Greenville, but he continued his active interest in public affairs, and his efforts to improve the condition of his State and people. He was elected to the United States senate, but, like the other southern senators, was denied the seat. His faithful and heroic stand for the Union, made at far greater sacrifice and against worse odds and more danger than any man then on the floor of the senate had endured, was forgot or disregarded. Men who had been disunionists while he was facing furious mobs and enduring banishment from honors and almost

from friendships, and holding his faith in and love for the Union solitary in a crowd of angered opponents, voted to shut him out of the senate chamber because he refused to desert his people in the humiliation and desolation he foresaw coming on them. He was a bitter opponent of the reconstruction measures, and wrote and spoke strongly to prove that the people would be better under an indefinite military rule than under negro and carpet-bagger government—a conclusion which all the white people had reached by 1876, when their campaign cry was “Hampton or a military governor!”

In 1867 he was a delegate to the Philadelphia convention. In 1868 he represented the State in the national democratic convention that nominated Seymour and Blair. The people of his State—as if eager to atone for the injustice of the past and to express their confidence and affection and their appreciation of the vindication of his wisdom brought by time and events—continued to heap honors on him. The democratic convention of the Fourth congressional district, then composed of York, Chester, Fairfield, Union, Spartanburg, Laurens, Greenville, Pickens and Oconee counties, met at Columbia in September, 1872, and unanimously tendered him the nomination for the Federal house of representatives. The nomination was unanimously endorsed by the press and people of the State, and Governor Perry accepted the leadership of the forlorn hope as he accepted every duty and made a thorough canvass of the large district. His fate was that of all other democratic candidates of the time, but his indomitable spirit was not broken by defeat, and immediately after the election he published an address to the voters urging them to oppose the radical government and to continue to fight it, and denouncing the corruption of the party in power in good round English terms, not forgetting to upbraid the white people for the apathy and timidity they were showing. His last prominent public service was in 1876, when, at the age of seventy-one, he went as one of

the South Carolina delegation to the St. Louis convention by which Tilden and Hendricks were nominated.

Governor Perry's political career is that most known and interesting to the public, but through long years it was a succession of apparent failures. In the practice of his profession in which he was matched against single antagonists and not against a legion of politicians and orators and angry multitudes of people, he was uniformly successful. He took a high place at the bar early in life and retained it to the end, winning honor and money. His practice was always marked by conscientious devotion to his cause, careful study and strong, logical handling. He was always a dignified and courteous lawyer, giving others all the respect they merited and rigidly exacting like treatment, conforming his conduct to the highest standards of professional ethics. He was employed by General Thompson in 1851 to assist in the defence of Dr. Gardiner, indicted in the District of Columbia for perjury in presenting false claims against the Mexican Government. It was a famous case of the time and offered fees then considered immense. But Governor Perry, after spending several weeks investigating the case, became convinced of Gardiner's guilt and promptly returned home. When he became convinced that the judiciary of this State was corrupt he retired almost entirely from active practice and sought the retirement of his farm "Sans Souci" near Greenville city, where he has lived since and where he died.

Governor Perry during his life had many friends and many enemies. He was not an effusive man and made little display of his friendships, but they were valuable and enduring. He was "a plain, blunt man," and when he disliked or distrusted made no secret of it. Stubborn in his opinions, he was always willing to concede honesty to his opponents, and to give courtesy while it was appreciated and reciprocated. His fighting was all done fairly and openly. Of scrupulous integrity

and with unspotted purity of character, he hated rascality and meanness or anything he took for it with an unrelenting hatred, and was always ready to lead warfare against it. He did not often win friends; he commanded them by the force of his character and his unswerving loyalty.

He married in 1837, in the city of Charleston, Miss Elizabeth F. McCall, daughter of Hext McCall and a niece of Robert Y. Hayne. They had seven children, of whom four survive—Mrs. Wm. Beattie, Representative W. H. Perry, Dr. Hext M. Perry, of Philadelphia, and B. F. Perry, Jr. Mrs. Perry survives the Governor; on her, more especially, his death comes with fearful force, and while the sympathy of hundreds of friends throughout the country are with the entire family, a special measure of it will be for her who has so many years illustrated the devotion and love of which woman is capable as wife and mother.

Governor Perry was a man of pure life, simple tastes, and temperate habits. During the last ten years most of his time has been spent at his place in the country, where he had built one of the handsomest residences in the State. He usually drove into town in his carriage, received his mail, remained in the office of his law firm, composed of himself, W. H. Perry and Julius H. Heyward, a few hours in the forenoon, and returned to his home. There he had one of the most complete libraries in the country, covering the whole range of literature, and he devoted himself to making new literary acquaintances and renewing old ones. He was an eager buyer and reader of new books, and a prolific writer for the press, although he rarely appeared in print during the last years of his life except when his interest was especially aroused in some matter of local or general moment. At one time he prepared and published in newspapers a series of historical sketches of this section of the State, and reminiscences of the many distinguished men he had known and been associated with. Some of these have

been compiled and printed in book form by Dr. Hext M. Perry, preceded by a brief biography of the Governor, making a volume of much interest. Governor Perry left doubtless material for many other volumes of historical interest, including newspaper files, unpublished sketches and memoirs, a carefully kept diary of his life, and many of his speeches and more important published articles.

He was not a communicant, but was a zealous friend and supporter of Christ Episcopal Church, where his family attended. During all his life he gave much attention to religion, and his conduct was conformed to the teachings of Christianity in which he was a sincere and earnest believer.

The last years of his life were very tranquil and happy in the society of his family, the friends he delighted to welcome to the hospitable halls of Sans Souci, his books and his writings, peacefully busy, with few cares, and an honest record and useful life to look back on, only awaiting the summons he knew must soon come.

EDITORIAL COMMENTS.

One of the biggest and strongest men this country has known died here yesterday.* He was cast in a big mould, morally, intellectually and physically, and Nature in her mysterious operations for the destruction of her work seems to have designed an appropriate ending. There was none of the pitiful weakness of decay. The years brought no childish treble to the big strong voice, no dullness of perception or senile feebleness to the active, vigorous mind. Like an old oak tree struck by the axe he fell while yet strong and towering, and died with the honors, years and compensations of age before the calamities of age had come upon him.

Governor Perry was sometimes spoken of by his admirers as "the old Roman," and surely he deserved the title by virtue of the qualities ascribed to the Romans in the best days of the republic, when Romans were as brothers and all were for the State. Courage, tenacity of purpose, force of character and rigid adherence to principle marked his course through all the years of his manhood. As the youth began the old man ended. The path of his duty and his conscience led straight across the popular way. But the fury of the people, the seductions of friends, the promises of ambition, the overwhelming power of opponents combined against him failed to cause the swerving of a step. He could not see the end or know where the road he trod would lead him; disaster after disaster fell upon him, until the limits of his county seemed to be the impene-

* December 3, 1886.

trable boundary of his aspirations. The only effect of it all was to nerve and urge him to stronger and bolder labors for the cause he believed to be right.

Years and events approved his judgment and his principles, but they were not needed to win him honor. His thirty years of *hopeless fighting* was honor and triumph enough, because it was evidence that could not be questioned that he believed in his cause, and had in him the manhood, strength and devotion that constitute heroism.

Whether measured by the invisible standard of the soul, felt but not definable in words or to be expressed by figures, or by the baser measurement of utility, Governor Perry's life is worthy of study and emulation. There is a tremendous elation and power, and a splendor more felt by the heart than any discernible to the senses in the feeling of a man that he is right—right beyond doubt—and that he is maintaining the right against odds, and will be proved right in the end. It is worth all the labor and sacrifice of a life.

And if life holds, time will bring the reward for the man who cleaves his way right onward, undismayed and unallured. The coward who truckles to place and powers, the shuffler who crooks the hinges of his knee and climbs by devious courses, must go down and be lost with the long procession of their like. But the man who clings to his sound principles and fears nobody and nothing, will be remembered and honored—after he is dead sometimes, but always sooner or later.

Read the story of Governor Perry's life as it is briefly and imperfectly told to-day. Read it and remember it.

He was a man—the thing that only God can make, and the only thing He has made in His likeness—a manly man, with manly virtues, holding and proving his manhood, and never dishonoring it, and therein the most splendid of the creations of Omnipotence, and very worthy to be honored.

That can be said of him with truth. What more or what better need be or could be said of any man?—*Greenville Daily News.*

Governor Perry was a grand figure in South Carolina affairs, a Romanesque rock standing out boldly in the midst of the troubled sea of politics, and unmoved by dashing waves or pelting storm. Unquestionably he was the head and front and chieftain of the union sentiment in South Carolina. In the union cause he fleshed his sword more than fifty years ago.

There was hot work in South Carolina in those old days. In 1832, in his lusty youth, Governor Perry fought Mr. Bynum, the editor of the *Greenville Sentinel*, and wounded him mortally at the first shot on the field. After this he declined to accept any challenge. The first and fatal meeting was more than enough.

Governor Perry opposed secession, first and last and all the while. But, honest Carolinian as he was, he was with his people, heart and soul, when the die was cast, and South Carolina had withdrawn from the sisterhood of States. It was not for him to reason why. South Carolina had taken her course, and, as a loyal son, he went with South Carolina, and exerted himself to the utmost to strengthen her endeavor.

Some measure of reward came to him when the struggle was over, as by reason of his noble record he was appointed governor of the State. Superbly he discharged the difficult duties that were imposed upon him in that time of transition and re-adjustment. Afterward he came rarely before the public, but from his eyrie on the slopes of the Blue Ridge he watched the course or events, and was ready always to give to his people the benefit of his ripe and varied observation and profound knowledge of men and affairs.

Statesman, jurist, man of letters and patriot, unflinching in his loyalty to these United States, and immovable in his devotion to the Commonwealth of South

Carolina. Governor Perry was in many respects without a peer in our public life, and in nothing that was worthy and of good report had he any superior.—*Charleston News and Courier.*

The death of ex-Governor Perry at his home near Greenville yesterday afternoon will be received with deep regret in all parts of the State. * * * * The deceased was a remarkable man from many points of view. For many years the consistent, outspoken, courageous defender of Union doctrines in opposition to all the declared principles of his native State, he never flinched from the advocacy of his opinions whatever the majority against him. He was opposed to secession from first to last, but when his State acted he surrendered his life-long convictions to her commands. We sincerely believe that there was no more conscientious and patriotic citizen in all the State than he who now has been gathered to the fold of Carolina's great sons as they sleep beneath her soil.

The deceased for many years represented the district of Greenville in the State assembly, and he was always recognized as a most conspicuous member. His opinions were always earnestly and frankly expressed. He took a bold stand on every public measure, and squarely toed the mark in every position of his long life.

Such was the declared character of the man in all things that he was highly respected by those who opposed his views no less than by those who followed his lead.

This distinguished Carolinian was selected by President Andrew Johnson, from not a few eminent unionists in South Carolina, to fill the important trust of provisional governor on the termination of the war in 1865. As provisional governor, Governor Perry earnestly advocated a policy of magnanimous peace. He had no patience with the policy of persecution and revenge. He did all he possibly could to shield his distressed fellow-

citizens from the savage policy of hate which then surged up against our devoted State as "the cause of the war." He stood by his State as faithfully in the dire moment of her downfall as he had manfully resisted the temper and policies which had led up to the war. He was too brave a man himself to have lot or parcel with those who were willing to strike the downfallen.

Ex-Governor Perry's memory, then, will long be cherished by all who love and admire true manhood in its highest sense, whether it be in friend or foe. And Greenville will lovingly cherish the memory of her great son as one of the most remarkable men the State has ever given birth to.

The father of an honored family, among whom is the representative in congress from this district, the Hon. Wm. Perry, the deceased goes to rest without an enemy in the State, though it was so long opposed to his political opinions. Let him sleep, then, in the bosom of his mother State as no unhonored son among those who illustrated her name with a virtue, courage and unblemished repute, which shall teach generation after generation of her sons how it is to live like a Carolinian, and how it is to die as such, without fear and without reproach.—*Columbia Register*.

He was a remarkable man in many respects. He was distinguished for the great purity of his character, his profound knowledge of law, his undying devotion to principle, and for a studiousness that remained with him to the day of his death.

In his death the State and Union have lost a citizen of which each might justly feel great pride. The people of Greenville almost idolized him, and he has controlled their public sentiment for more than half a century, and there is no one of equal character and abilities to take his place.

Whatever position in life Governor Perry was called on to fill, whether member of the legislature, member of

a State convention, commissioner, district attorney, district judge of the Southern Confederacy, provisional governor of the State, delegate to conventions of the democratic party, legal counsellor or citizen, he never failed to discharge his duties with a rigid fidelity and great ability that commanded the esteem of every one. His name was a synonym of uprightness, integrity and bold performance of duty. He had contempt for mean actions and duplicity in men, and was severe in condemnation of them.

He was one of nature's noblemen, in physical stature and features, as well as in mind and heart.

It is sad indeed to know that his familiar face and noble form have passed from our midst forever, and that we will see him no more.—*Greenville Enterprise and Mountaineer.*

ACTION OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

The State Senate was not in session on Saturday, December 4th, when the announcement of Governor Perry's death was made.

In the House Mr. Ansel, of Greenville, said :

MR. SPEAKER:—Upon the wings of the lightning the sad intelligence has just been received that the late distinguished and highly esteemed Benjamin Franklin Perry, of Greenville, is no more. He has gone to that bourne from whence no traveler returns. Being more than four score years of age, and having been for a great many years in public life in this State and the Nation, I think it but due to the memory of this great and good man that we should pause in our deliberations for a short while to pay our respects to his many virtues.

He was for more than twenty years during the early and middle part of his life a distinguished member and leader of the house of representatives of this State, and his course while a member of this honorable body has been the admiration and praise of all. One of the many acts which he did as a member of that body was the selection of the place where the capitol building now stands.

Since that time he has held many honorable positions given him by the people of his native State. Once he held the office of judge, once elected United States sen-

ator from the State of South Carolina, and once the Governor of this grand old Commonwealth of ours; and though he was not allowed to hold his seat in the United States senate by reason of the political sentiment prevailing in the North at and after the time of his election to this honored position, it shows the high esteem in which he was held, and ever has been held, by the people of this State and country.

As governor of the State of South Carolina, his every act was for the best interests of his native State, and the nature and the ability and integrity which characterized his administration of that office is part of the history of this State, known by all, which will go down on its pages to the everlasting glory and honor of his name.

But time forbids, Mr. Speaker, my detailing the many virtues and good qualities of this great and good man. I could not refrain, however, in this presence from asking that the business of this house might stop for a short time, in order that we may place one flower upon the bier of our departed friend, and, looking at him as he shall pass down into the grave and be gathered to his fathers, say: "Well done, good and faithful servant."

Mr. Speaker, as a mark of respect to the memory of the late Benjamin Franklin Perry, I move you, sir, that this house do now adjourn.

At the conclusion of the remarks of Mr. Ansel, of Greenville, in announcing to the House of Representatives of South Carolina the death of the Hon. B. F. Perry, one of the ex-governors of this State, and after the reading of the resolutions appropriate to the occasion, Mr. Hamilton, of Chester, arose and spoke as follows:

MR. SPEAKER:—It is only since taking my seat in this House to-day that I have been made aware of the death of ex-Governor B. F. Perry, an event, it is true, at his advanced age, we have all known could not be long postponed, but which nevertheless we are permitted to deplore as a great public loss.

It is not necessary, Mr. Speaker, to give any sketch of the circumstances of the private life or public career of Governor Perry, for by the enterprising forethought of the *News and Courier* in its issue of to-day we are furnished with all it is necessary to know on that head. I shall therefore confine myself to an allusion to his peculiar characteristics which distinguished him from the general run of men and lifted him to a place among the very few who are possessed of the rare gift of a lofty moral courage and a fearless intellectual bravery.

It has been remarked that there are comparatively few men who think for themselves, and more especially on public affairs, and whose utterances make up public opinion. In large cities it has come to pass that newspapers to a great extent do the thinking of the people, and in smaller and more remote communities there are certain leading minds to which it is given to guide the current of opinion. But even with this small class are often found those who temporize and often shrink from their convictions and abandon opposition in order to sail before a popular breeze. Governor Perry was cast in a different mould from any such. He thought for himself; he had strong convictions, and he dared always to own them in any presence and before any audience. He came first into public notice in the memorable nullification contest. The advocates of that extreme remedy for our differences with the Federal Government numbered in their ranks, as the active leaders, John C. Calhoun, Robert Y. Hayne, George McDuffie, James Hamilton and Stephen B. Miller—an array of statesmen, orators, and men of action unsurpassed in their respective excellences, and formidable indeed to encounter in opposition. It was natural for the young men of South Carolina to follow such leaders in a contest, particularly alluring as challenging a conflict with the general government, and it may safely be said that nine-tenths of them were rallied under the banner of the nullification party.

To confront such opponents had no terrors for Benjamin F. Perry, a young man only starting forth in life. In his newspaper, on the stump, and everywhere, he boldly advocated the cause he had espoused, and although defeated on that particular issue yet he came out of the contest unscathed and unterrified, and by his fearless and honorable course gained for himself the honorable admiration and esteem of the great men whose opinions and actions he had combated so manfully.

It was not unnatural for Union men of the South to be earnest for the reconstruction of the States, and there were not a few of them caught by the idea of "accepting the situation" who were hurried into the republican party, and too late to retreat were overwhelmed by the disgrace and obloquy which attached to the southern government of that day.

Governor Perry was deeply enlisted in the scheme proposed by President Johnson to reconstruct the State of South Carolina and the other Southern States, but upon the passage of the reconstruction measures and the military usurpation of Sickles and Canby, every instinct of his brave nature and his love of civil liberty was aroused, and until that invasion of our right finally disappeared with the inauguration of President Cleveland, there was no more hostile opponent of republican men and measures than he was.

Governor Perry's last connection with public affairs was in 1872. A convention assembled in the fall of that year in this city, of which I was myself a member; he was unanimously nominated to contest the Fourth Congressional District against A. S. Wallace. It was hoped by running a pronounced Union man, in addition to the democratic majorities in Greenville and Spartanburg, we might supplement them by a majority in York and reduction of the republican vote in the other counties, and by that means we might elect him. His most excellent conservative speeches, however, failed of effect, and our relief was postponed for four years more.

when the bugle call of Hampton aroused us to action. Since then Governor Perry has lived in retirement at his country seat near Greenville.

Mr. Brawley, of Charleston, said :

MR. SPEAKER:—I have been so occupied this morning that I did not read the newspaper, and until the gentleman from Greenville addressed the Chair I did not know that a great loss had fallen upon the State, for although in "the white winter of his age," and for some time withdrawn from active participation in public affairs, the death of Governor Perry will be felt everywhere throughout the State as a public calamity.

I regret very much, Mr. Speaker, that I have not the gift of speaking aptly upon occasions like this without preparation, and that I have not had time to prepare such fit words as are due to the memory of this distinguished citizen. I regret it all the more because I represent here a constituency which in times past was not in accord with those ideas and principles of which Governor Perry was one of the most conspicuous advocates, and yet I feel that I would not truly represent that constituency if I failed to express upon this mournful occasion the sentiment of profound respect for his character and memory there entertained, and, therefore, I must add my voice to the general lamentation and pay tribute to his memory.

It is not to be expected that upon this sudden call I can do justice to a character which had many elements of greatness, and it would not accord with the "fitness of things" that I should indulge in indiscriminating eulogy. I cannot speak of him from much personal knowledge, as I saw him mainly from a distance, but I always admired that rugged independence of character and opinions which lifted him above the lead of common men as distinctly as do the mountains, near which he dwelt, stand out from the plain.

He was a man of strong individuality, and probably of strong dislikes, but he was likewise a man of strong and earnest patriotism, and although his State was led into courses against his wishes and judgment, he never wavered in his devotion to her.

He was in the highest sense of the word a patriot, and, therefore, it is most fitting that we, who are for the time being the representatives of the State which he loved and served during a long and useful life, should pause in our work here and pay respect to his memory. The name and fame of such a man is a precious heritage, and we should so testify.

He lived in a time of great events and was a conspicuous actor in them. Called to high station in a time of great adversity he bore himself with dignity, and then and ever he was true and steadfast as those mountains beneath the shadow of which he now rests. His fame, like them, is fixed in the earnest stillness of eternity.

Mr. Haskell, of Richland, said :

MR. SPEAKER:—I regret that the first news that I have of Governor Perry's death is the resolution which I ask to second, for I feel that I can, unprepared as I am, but ill express the feelings of my constituents, or my own. Yet I would ill represent my constituents if I failed to join as best I can in the expressions of sympathy for the family of Governor Perry, and of praise for the service which he has done by his pure life and earnest work for the State he has served so long and so well. It has been truly said by those who have preceded me that Governor Perry throughout his life displayed always an utter fearlessness in opposing the will of majorities, no matter how great, when his judgment did not approve, and this most notably in the almost unaided opposition which for many years he offered to those who advocated a disruption of the Union.

All they have said is true, but it seems to me that higher praise than this is due to this distinguished citizen.

Any one can oppose, but it is of few, even in history, that it can be said that they openly, constantly and defiantly opposed the enthusiastic will of a great majority of their fellow-citizens without ever losing at any time their respect and confidence. Yet none will deny that this can be truly said of him who we now seek to honor. To oppose secession, either alone or with the other slaveholding States, was in South Carolina regarded as unpatriotic, if not traitorous; and yet Governor Perry, an avowed Union man under all circumstances, had the warm esteem of those who knew him, and the confidence of the people at large who knew him by his acts and reputation.

When finally the war against which he had struggled came upon us, there was no citizen of the State more earnest in his efforts to bring it to a successful issue and none who more willingly contributed to its prosecution. This caused no surprise, for his whole life had made the people of this State expect nothing less from him under all circumstances than the fullest performance of every duty of a patriotic citizen.

Governor Perry impressed his views and policy upon what is now the most prosperous section of this State to an extent that would have marked him as an extraordinary man had he performed nothing else. Here in the capital of the State, he was chiefly known before the war as the Unionist opposing what nearly all our people believed to be the best interests of the State. They next knew him as the reconstruction governor appointed by the president of the United States, who the people still regarded as our bitter enemy.

In this office we quickly learned to know him as one who took office only that he might serve his State without a thought of self-glorification or personal reputation or profit, and the city of Columbia and Richland county joins with her whole heart in seconding the resolution in honor of him who as a citizen was upright and patriotic; as a statesman, wise to foresee danger, earnest

in his effort to avert it, brave and constant in resisting it when it came, and when it culminated in disaster, untiring and undismayed in earnestly striving by precept and example to repair the ruin and bring back prosperity to his State, to which the best efforts of his long and active life were devoted.

After remarks by Colonel John C. Haskell, of Richland, on motion of Mr. Ansel, seconded by Mr. Simpson, of Laurens, the house adjourned in respect to Governor Perry's memory.

PROCEEDINGS OF
THE GREENVILLE BAR.

On the 11th of December, 1886, there was a called meeting of the bar of Greenville, at which almost every member was present.

Colonel G. F. Townes was elected chairman and D. P. Verner secretary.

In taking the chair Colonel Townes announced the purpose of the meeting is to consider the action to be taken regarding the death of the leader of the bar, the late Governor B. F. Perry. He said :

GENTLEMEN OF THE GREENVILLE BAR:—To render due tribute to departed friends, and to express sorrow for their loss, is an instinct of our common humanity, stirring the most pathetic emotions of the heart. But when one of eminent merit, especially identified with a professional circle, is removed by death, the surviving members feel the loss most deeply, and are fond to recall the remembrance of the noble qualities and honorable career of the distinguished dead, and to give some utterance to the sentiments such remembrance inspires. The death of ex-Governor Benjamin Franklin Perry is, to us, an event sorrowful indeed and most profoundly regretted. We greatly esteemed him for his virtues. His was a life unstained by intemperance, uncontaminated by licentiousness. We admired his high character, conspicuous for ability and integrity, not only as a lawyer, but as a man, a citizen, public servant, and true patriot. His memory will last. The influence of his example, the good he has done, is not "interred with his bones." He never swerved from what he believed to be the right. Even when in a minority, breasting the storms of political strife, earning a

national as well as a State reputation, he so bore himself that his opponents respected him, and every one, even those with whom political questions had produced quarrels or estrangement, when the calm came were again his personal friends and admirers. He reciprocated their feelings and met them more than half way. As age advanced, he gathered more and more troops of friends, and has died without an enemy in either of the old political parties, now happily merged in one.

Governor Perry was faithful as a friend, and a delightful companion. He excelled in entertaining conversation. He possessed an extensive knowledge of history, European and American. I have never met any one who appeared to me so familiar with the characters and incidents connected with the lives of the remarkable personages who have lived in the past and present century, especially those of his own country and the British Kingdom. His memory was a very encyclopedia of the events and prominent men belonging to the history of his own State, from the earliest colonial times to the present. He was my senior at the bar, but I stood next to him. He was my oldest associate and friend. I shall miss him more than I can express. Indeed, we may all say in regard to him, as Henry Clay said in his noble tribute to Calhoun, uttered in the United States senate chamber: "Who can fill the great void his death has left us?"

On motion of Colonel J. W. Stokes, a committee of three was appointed to draw and present suitable resolutions. The committee consisted of Colonel Stokes, T. Q. Donaldson and Captain C. M. Furman. The members retired and subsequently returned and presented the following:

"WHEREAS, it has pleased God in His infinite wisdom to call from time to eternity, full of years and honors, the distinguished and honored leader of the Greenville bar, Governor Benjamin Franklin Perry, who for a period of half a century or more illustrated in

an eminent degree the ability, dignity and courtesy of the profession; and whereas we desire to place upon record our high appreciation and admiration of his noble qualities of head and heart as exhibited in all the relations of life—domestic, civil, political and professional; therefore,

“Resolved, That in the death of Governor Benjamin Franklin Perry, his family have lost a devoted and indulgent husband and father; the community a useful, valued and eminent citizen; the State a wise, patriotic and incorruptible public servant, and the bar a learned, able and fearless advocate, who by his integrity and great ability justly occupied a commanding position among the most distinguished lawyers of the State.

“Resolved, That this bar deeply sympathize and sincerely condole with the family of the distinguished deceased in their sad bereavement and great loss.

“Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the members of this bar will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

“Resolved, That the chairman of this meeting present the preamble and these resolutions to the presiding judge at the next term of the circuit court for Greenville and request him to have them recorded upon the journal of the court.

“Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted by the secretary of this meeting to the family of the deceased, and that the city newspapers be requested to publish them.”

Mr. T. Q. Donaldson said :

MR. CHAIRMAN:—I rise to second the resolutions just offered, and in doing so, I confess to some degree of embarrassment, not so much for want of something to say as to decide what should be left unsaid in the limited time which it would be proper to occupy on an occasion like this.

It has been but a few short months, Mr. Chairman, since the members of the Greenville bar had occasion to come together in their hall to do honor to the memory of one of their number who had been stricken down in the maturity of manhood. We are now assembled to perform a like service to the memory of one who lived out the full measure of his days, and who gently sank to rest, "Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch about him and lies down to pleasant dreams."

I knew Governor Perry intimately for a period of thirty years; for the greater portion of this time we were near neighbors, residing on opposite sides of the street. I had peculiarly favorable opportunities of observing him in all the relations of life, to which reference has been made in the resolutions, and can say without mental reservation, and with entire sincerity, that all that has been said of him in these resolutions is strictly and literally true. He was devotedly attached to his home and family, and a kinder and more indulgent husband and father I have never known. He greatly enjoyed the society of his friends and neighbors, and felt a keen and lively interest in whatever contributed to the prosperity and well being of the community in which he lived.

When I first came to Greenville Governor Perry was at the zenith of his career as a lawyer, and was engaged on one side of every cause of importance which came before the courts of the western circuit (as it was then known), comprising the counties of Greenville, Spartanburg, Laurens, Anderson and Pickens. He was the peer of the ablest lawyers who practised in that circuit, which could boast of some of the most eminent men of the State. No lawyer ever prepared his cases with more care nor fought them with more ability and persistence. No client of his ever had just cause to complain that his case was neglected. His character for honesty and integrity and his great ability as a lawyer made him almost irresistible before juries, especially of

Greenville county, with whom his name was a tower of strength.

Governor Perry was remarkable for his industry and devotion to his profession, and as a result he always enjoyed a lucrative practice. At the same time it may be said that he was not a mere attorney, as too many of our profession are, but a jurist as well, and thoroughly imbued with a knowledge of the law as a science. He was also fond of reading general literature, and had accumulated, during his long life, one of the largest and most select miscellaneous libraries in the State. Governor Perry was one of the comparatively few public men of the State who achieved a national reputation, and his name will always be associated with those of her most eminent statesmen. His public life was a peculiarly eventful one. He lived in the most exciting period of the State's history, and was a conspicuous actor in all the important political events which agitated the country from 1832 on the great issue between the State and General Government, which finally resulted in civil war. He held views opposed to those of a majority of the leading men of the State, and to this fact may doubtless be attributed his failure of promotion to high federal position until the latter part of his life.

No one possessed in a higher degree than Governor Perry the courage of his convictions, and no one was less deterred from following them when once he had determined as to the proper course to pursue, and he had the satisfaction, before his death, of seeing the wisdom of his course with reference to the most vital political issues approved.

Nature had cast Governor Perry in a large mould physically and mentally. No one ever saw him for the first time who was not impressed with the fact that he was no ordinary man. His life was a success. He achieved fame and fortune, and "full of days and honors" has been gathered to his Father, leaving to his family the priceless heritage of a pure and spotless name,

and to the members of the bar an example worthy of their emulation.

Mr. John W. Stokes said:

MR. CHAIRMAN:—We are gathered here to-day to mingle our voices in honor of the distinguished leader of this bar, and to cast our garlands, gathered and perfumed from memory's casket, upon the tomb in which he lies near his darling children—precious jewels, who years ago, like sweetest, brightest flowers nipped by an untimely frost, faded away forever.

In the death of Governor Benjamin Franklin Perry, the State of South Carolina, loved and honored so much by him, has lost one of her purest men and most useful and highly distinguished citizens. Full of years and full of honors and with a name written in immortal characters across more than half a century of his country's history, that grand old Roman has gone to rest and is taking his last sleep in the bosom of his native land and in the city where he achieved so many brilliant triumphs as an advocate, in the forum.

As a patriot he was ardent and devoted, sincere and unselfish. With all the fervor of his great heart he loved his country for his country's sake and stood by her with heroic courage, whether she was right or wrong. Never faltering for her weal, he was always ready to make any sacrifice, however great, to advance her welfare and prosperity, or to shield, protect and defend her against wrong, injustice and oppression. In this zeal, love and fidelity to her, the language of his great heart was millions for defence but not a cent for tribute. And when the heated controversies over vexed questions as to what course his country should pursue were terminated, he allowed no bitterness towards his opponents to linger in his bosom, but actuated by his generous, forgiving nature, he freely and readily forgave all past differences between himself and his countrymen.

As a statesman, he was broad, bold, courageous and progressive, and ranked as such among the great and distinguished luminaries of our country. No one of his cotemporaries had a clearer conception or understood better than he did, the spirit and genius of our republican institutions; the organic law of both the State and Federal governments—the powers conferred by the States upon the general government and those reserved by the States to themselves. All of the great questions and measures that have sprung up and agitated the general government from its organization to the present time were familiar with him. The alien and sedition laws; the Missouri compromise; the slavery questions; the tariff; bank of the United States; internal improvement by the general government; the Munroe doctrine; the immunity of our ships from search upon the high seas; nullification; secession, and reconstruction were closely examined, thoroughly scrutinized, accurately analyzed, and perfectly mastered by him. When surrounded by a group of his genial friends it was a rich, intellectual treat to hear him, with his wonderful conversational powers, review any of these great national questions and the lives of the patriots and sages who engaged in their discussion in the congress of the United States. And the name of Governor Perry as a wonderfully gifted statesman will go down the ages in the history of our country with the names of Calhoun, McDuffie, Hayne and other illustrious men.

In the meridian of his legal career Governor Perry was regarded, both by the bench and the bar, as one of the ablest lawyers and most powerful advocates in the State. At that time the western circuit was distinguished for its able lawyers—Judge Wardlaw, Judge Whitner, Armstead Burt, Henry C. Young, James Edward Henry and General Waddy Thompson, besides some other distinguished men, practised law at the Greenville bar—and Governor Perry was then, certainly, the peer and equal in legal learning and forensic ability

of any of those great lawyers. He was then engaged on the one side or the other, in every important case, both civil and criminal, which came before the court at this place. Among the many great State trials in which he was engaged was the celebrated Gardner case, the hearing of which occupied the court for several months at Washington city. And assisted by Judge Wardlaw and Hon. Armstead Burt, Governor Perry defended the Hon. William L. Yancey when he was arraigned at the bar, at Greenville, charged with murder, and whose trial terminated in a verdict of manslaughter. He was sentenced to fine and imprisonment, and Governor Noble remitted both of these in a few weeks. He was a bold and fearless, a terse and perspicuous writer. His editorials in the old *Mountaineer*, and afterwards in the *Patriot and Mountaineer*, his biographical sketches or reminiscences of distinguished men, his extensive contributions to the periodical literature of the country, and his written speeches for special public occasions, were anxiously sought for, and eagerly read and carefully preserved by the best scholars of the country.

As a citizen, he was a model worthy of imitation. He was always frank, generous and sincere in his intercourse and dealings with mankind and uniformly just and polite. He loved his friends, was an exemplar of virtue, scorned a mean act, and was one of nature's noblest workmanship—an honest man.

He tranquilly met death and ended life's journey on Friday morning, the 3d day of December, 1886, at Sans Souci, his beautiful home and seat of elegant hospitality, in sight of mountain crags, sparkling brooks and shining river. And the large and commanding form of that wonderfully gifted and highly intellectual and scholarly man lay in state in his spacious library hall, filled with tomes and volumes of choice and elegant books, which seemed like silent sentinels to watch over his remains until Sunday, December 5th, when he was borne hither to the cemetery by a host of sorrowing, sympathizing

friends, who laid him gently down, with bleeding hearts and briny tears, in his new-made grave to take his last long repose.

He has gone forever from us, and, in all probability, in the noble qualities of head and heart and the brilliant record of a useful and honorable life, we will never see his like again.

Mr. C. M. Furman said :

It is so much the custom to praise the dead, that occasions like the present are too often but empty ceremonies, in which the desire to please the living by cheap laudation of the departed is the chief motive. And hence, what is said on such occasions is very often regarded as a mere sentimental outburst—the glowing picture having no counterpart in the life or character of him who is represented. But on this occasion there is no room for empty words. Should any one attempt to portray the man who has fallen among us so as to do justice to the great subject, he would find matter to his hand, crowding upon him in such abundance as to transcend the limits by which we are circumscribed.

I shall attempt no such undertaking—it is needless. You all know the man. He stood amongst us like some grand old oak, erect, with wide-spread boughs, conspicuous to all observers. And now, that he has fallen, we feel as never before the largeness of the space he filled.

The illustrious deceased was possessed, in a most remarkable degree, of three traits of character rarely seen combined in the same person. He was a man of tireless *energy*. He fought his way to the top. With an industry that never flagged he mastered his profession and became a great lawyer, and not content with this, he turned his vigorous mind to the difficult study of politics and became a great statesman. No labor was too protracted or too severe for him. The end of the race, however long, he always reached triumphantly. He fought with fate and conquered circumstance by resolute

endurance. He was a man of high *courage*. In his earlier career his convictions placed him in a position antagonistic to the great majority of the strong men who were around him. But he was not the man to count the number of his opponents. He never lowered his lance because their battalions thickened. Though, like all patriotic men, he loved the approval of his countrymen, yet he dared to differ and bore their condemnation in the calm consciousness of his own purity of purpose. In his later political life, when violence had usurped the seat of law, and a corrupt tyranny had supplemented right and justice, his voice arose, defiantly denouncing wrong and inspiring his people with fresh hope and courage. He was a man of absolute *integrity*. Many men possessed of the first-mentioned qualities are found wanting in this. The profession of the law, the political arena, present special temptations to men of feeble conscience, and too often men whose intellectual gifts lift them above their fellows are morally wrecked through the opportunities thus offered. But no breath of suspicion ever stirred against him. "His enemies themselves being judges"—his character was not only "sans peur" but "sans reproche." While others were blown about by the gusts of popular feeling and set their sails subserviently to catch whatever wind might blow, he, despising the acts of the time server and the sycophant alike, held steadily on his course, and having faced manfully the duties of life, he has reached at last, in honor and good report with all men, the haven of eternal rest.

Such a life needs no commentary. It is a lesson to us all. It is of more value than precept or exhortation, it is a stimulus to noble living, and as such let us cherish its memory as a heritage of richest value.

The resolutions were adopted unanimously by a rising vote and the meeting adjourned.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE
COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

GREENVILLE, APRIL 6TH, 1887.

At the opening of the Court of Common Pleas on Wednesday, April 6th, Colonel G. F. Townes addressed Judge Fraser and presented the resolutions adopted by the Greenville bar in honor of the late Governor Perry, in performance of the duty assigned him by his brethren. He asked that they be recorded on the journal of the court, and moved for adjournment as a mark of respect for the deceased, following his motion with brief but appropriate and feeling remarks.

The motion was seconded by John R. Bellinger, M. F. Ansel, J. A. Mooney, Judge J. S. Cothran and Julius H. Heyward.

Mr. Bellinger said :

May it please your Honor—In this temple of justice, where the illustrious dead was wont so oft to stand in defence of the rights of his fellow-countrymen, it is fit that the business of the court should stop, that we should pause in the discharge of our duties to pay a deserved tribute to the memory of departed worth. And however vain and unmeaning these ceremonies usually are, yet I venture the assertion that on this occasion not one word will be spoken, not one single act be done, that will not be prompted by the sincere conviction of him who says or does it.

Admitted to the bar in 1827, Governor Perry for fifty-nine years adorned the profession of which he was at once an ornament and a shining light. The relation of a lawyer to his client he regarded as a sacred trust, to be performed under the dictates of an enlightened conscience, actuated solely by the considerations of right and duty. Always studious, ever ready and fully prepared in his

cases, he took advantage of no technicalities which the justice of his cause and the rights of his client did not demand that he should act upon. Truth was his guiding star, and in every cause he sought to find it, and always followed and was led by it. So thoroughly was his conduct actuated by this principle that in looking back over his life I do not believe a single professional act could be pointed to which he would have had performed otherwise than as it was.

But, may it please your Honor, Governor Perry was not only a distinguished lawyer, he was also a profound statesman. However true in England the remark might be that a great lawyer can never make a wise statesman, in this country, at least, and in the person of our distinguished friend, it is not an axiom, for it is not true. Living in the stormiest period of our country's history, when the greatest questions of public policy were agitating the whole people, he found himself almost invariably on the side of the minority, yet no man ever for an instant thought that his convictions were not sincere or his opinions honest. The purest patriotism prompted his every political word and deed, and all that he did and all that he said was in the faith of duty to his State and country.

And, may it please your Honor, time and the circumstances through which we have passed have demonstrated the wisdom of some, at least, of the opinions he held.

Our friend was also a man of letters. Possessed of one of the finest miscellaneous libraries in the State, he was well informed on any subject which might arise. Thus it was that his society was courted and sought after by those who desired either to be entertained or instructed, for he was ever willing to impart to others that knowledge which he himself possessed. It was not my fortune to know him until within a few short years, but knowing was but to admire him, and it will ever be a source of satisfaction to me, your Honor, that I did know him, and to feel that he was my friend.

Shall we lift the sacred veil that shuts out his domestic from his public life? If we do, we behold the devoted husband, the affectionate father, the kind master, the generous friend, yea, may it please your Honor, the humble Christian. For whatever may be the public opinion as to Governor Perry's religious belief, we are assured by his pastor that he died in the perfect faith of an humble Christian child, and if better proof than this were wanted we have it in his own words. In his last will and testament, in its very first item, this language occurs: "I give my soul to God, hoping and trusting in His mercies, through the merits of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

Thus, then, may it please your Honor, has passed away the distinguished lawyer, the pure patriot, the wise statesman, the fond and affectionate husband and father, the generous friend, the Christian gentleman,

"A combination and a form indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man."

As such, he is worthy to be held up as an example for the youth of this and of future generations; and happy will it be for the State of South Carolina, happy for the community in which they live, happy for themselves, if any be found worthy to wear the mantle which has fallen from his shoulders. He needs no marble monument to perpetuate his memory. He lives upon the pages of his country's history, he lives in the hearts of his countrymen. He lives, aye! and will ever live, in the priceless legacy which he has left to his children and his children's children—an unspotted reputation, an honored name.

"No farther seek his merits to disclose,
Or draw his frailties from their dread abode;
(There, they alike in trembling hope repose,)
The bosom of his Father and his God."

I heartily second the resolutions which have been

offered, and move that the court adjourn until to-morrow morning, in honor of the memory of Governor Benjamin Franklin Perry.

Mr. Ansel said :

May it please your Honor—I had the honor before another tribunal, soon after the death of our distinguished friend, Governor B. F. Perry, to introduce resolutions similar to the ones now presented, commemorative of Governor Perry, and to advocate the adoption of the same by the house of representatives of the State of South Carolina, and it gives me pleasure to add a few words on this occasion, and in this presence, upon the resolutions now offered.

It is, I think, eminently proper for us, among whom he has spent his long and useful life, to stop and consider the many good traits of his character, and as he is removed from our midst, to drop a tear upon the grave that hides his form from our sight.

The esteem in which he was held by the people of this county and State was shown on many occasions. He was the recipient of the highest offices in the gift of the people, and in each and every one of them discharged the duties pertaining thereto with fidelity and honor.

My acquaintance with Governor Perry began during the later years of his life, and after he had retired from active practice at the bar, and I could but admire him for his honorable and upright life.

A few weeks ago I read with much pleasure and profit a speech delivered by him in 1844, before the students of Erskine College, Due West, S. C., and was touched with the wise words of advice it contained. The virtues of many great and good men were extolled, and his hearers admonished to imitate them.

We, the younger members of the bar, and the older ones too, might well learn a lesson from the exemplary life and high intellectual and moral character of our

distinguished dead. He was a valuable member of this community and State, and the influence of such a life is not measured by the direct results alone. It is felt in its elevating power, lifting us to higher and nobler aims. His faithfulness in the discharge of duty is well known. He was a son of whom South Carolina had every reason to be proud, and his loss will long be felt and sincerely mourned.

"Peace to his ashes."

Mr. Mooney said :

May it please your Honor—I hope that my older brethren of the bar will pardon the seeming forwardness in one so young as myself in rising in this presence to second these resolutions. But sir, Governor Perry was my friend, in the truest meaning of friend, and I cannot allow this occasion to pass without adding my little tribute to the memory of the great man who has fallen among us.

Before I had reached the age to appreciate for myself the noble qualities of head and heart that adorned the life of Governor Perry, I was taught at home to respect and honor him. Having grown up in a section of this county in which he was admired and looked up to perhaps more than any other, and having seen in what esteem the people held him, I could not but join with the throng that did him honor. But if your Honor please, when I came to know this personification of chivalry, this great statesman and profound lawyer, I found that the half had not been told me.

It was under his tuition and that of his distinguished son that I prepared myself for admission to practice in this Court; and it is a distinction that I will always remember with a feeling of pride.

Having been more or less intimately acquainted with him for quite a number of years, I had an opportunity to ascertain the principles which governed his life; and I do think, sir, that when we find among the millions

who are pushing and scrambling for fame and fortune, with an utter disregard of the means used, or the result to their fellow-men, a man who dares always do right, we should pause to admire, and point him out to the world as a *man* who is indeed the noblest work of God. Such a man was Governor Perry. His high character rendered him incapable of doing anything inconsistent with the highest instinct of a gentleman. No matter in what sphere of life he was called upon to perform a duty, whether as private citizen, lawyer or statesman, his high sense of moral rectitude always controlled his conduct, and in the discharge of that duty he knew no fear. Possessing a very high order of both moral and physical courage, he stood immovably by his convictions. I read with much profit, a short time ago, an address delivered by Governor Perry before the literary societies of Erskine College in 1844. It is a most admirable production, and entirely characteristic of its author; and knowing that he always lived up to his convictions, it gives us an insight to the character of the great man. One sentence in that address struck me as being *peculiarly* characteristic. It was this: "Without firmness and high moral courage no man can act correctly, no matter how pure his principles may be." His life proved the truthfulness of these words. Few men would have withstood the strong current of public sentiment as he did. When the heroic blood of Carolina's brave sons was boiling with indignation at the action of the North in demanding the emancipation of our slaves, and when the voice of the people from the mountains to the seaboard was crying out for secession, Governor Perry had the courage to stand up among the frenzied multitude and raise his voice for the Union. Doubtless the calm and cool deliberation begat in his vision the smouldering embers of a once happy home, the crouching form of a tender female weeping over the death of a brave husband or son, a proud and happy people humbled and impoverished, as a result of this

unnatural war. Time, in my humble judgment, has proved that he was right. I could mention other abortive attempts to influence his conduct during his career as a legislator, but I deem it superfluous. Nor do I think it necessary in this presence to refer to the splendid services Governor Perry has done the country as a statesman. His walk has been among us, and history is known to us all. For ages to come, in reading the history of the great men of our times, Carolina's sons will point with pride to the fact that Governor Perry was a true son of the old State. No one, I think, who knew him well, or has read much of that which he has written, will doubt that he was a Christian; for there was no hypocrisy in his nature, and his sentiments were all in strict accord with the teachings of Christianity. It has been well said by the gentleman who preceded me that he was the humble Christian gentleman.

And now, my young brethren, we who are standing upon the threshold of the legal profession, we have an example in Governor Perry that it will be well for us to emulate. Let's take him as our model, and strive hard to attain to the high plane that he reached. Could we all succeed, what a bar, what a *country* we would have. He was zealous in his causes, and no client of his ever had cause to complain that his interests were not properly attended to.

I knew Governor Perry at home, and have seen his unselfish devotion to his family, and permit me to say, sir, that I have never seen a wife so proud of her husband as was Mrs. Perry of the Governor. She knew the manliness of his character, and adored him accordingly. If *we* mourn the loss of that manly form from our midst, how great must be *her* sorrow and loneliness until the trump's glad sound shall summon her to the everlasting companionship of that noble spirit that beckons her from the other shore.

Mr. Heyward said :

May it please your Honor—I cannot allow the opportunity to pass without expressing the high regard and admiration I feel for the subject of these resolutions. During the last five or six years of his life I was, perhaps, nearer to Governor Perry than any member of the bar except his son. During that time my intercourse with him was almost daily, and I can truly say that I never heard from his lips the expression of an unworthy thought; of any, in fact, but the highest sentiments. He always expressed his feelings fearlessly, and without regard to consequences. He never had a friend or an enemy who could for a moment be in doubt as to his true sentiments towards him. This it was which added so much to his strength in Greenville county. What he said he meant, and no man ever knew him to deceive any one. His high courage is matter of history in this State. One of the most striking pictures in our history will represent him casting his single vote, upon a memorable occasion, in opposition to the entire convention in which he sat. This fact alone is sufficient to preserve his name as one of the striking characters of our State.

His professional conduct was equally high. My own experience with him is illustrative of his kindly feeling and generosity towards his juniors at the bar. I came to Greenville a stranger to the entire community. Those of my relatives who were in public life with Governor Perry were diametrically opposed to him in their views. I knew nothing of him except his name, and he knew nothing of me except that I was a beginner at the bar, without experience and without a practice. But this was all he desired to know. His hand was frankly extended, and his advice and assistance ever at my disposal. In the moment of success, he had always a kindly smile and grasp of the hand in congratulation; in the hour of difficulty, a brave, cheery word of encouragement.

The empty chair, your Honor, is a constant reminder

to me of the loss I, individually, have sustained. But it needs not this to remind me. Till I myself shall sink into the grave I shall not forget his kindness.

Judge Fraser ordered the clerk to enter the resolutions, and said it was usual on such occasions to have a merely formal adjournment of the court in the last hour of the session. He thought, however, that the character and position of Governor Perry required a more marked expression of respect, and that business should be suspended immediately. He added:

It is a privilege to unite with you in this tribute to the memory of Governor Perry. We are not called to mourn the loss of one who has been taken from our midst in youth or even in the full vigor of manhood, but of one who has lived more than the three score and ten years allotted to man and who in mature old age, after a life full of usefulness and honor, has been gathered to the fathers.

When I was a mere boy and scarcely knew anyone outside of my own home or had begun to feel or take an interest in anything beyond its narrow circle, I heard of him as a leader of men and an exponent of a grand principle. This he continued to be throughout a long and eventful life. He was ever the same heroic, consistent advocate of what in his judgment were the rights and true interests of the State he loved so well.

This is not the occasion to discuss, nor is it possible for this generation to determine, the issues as to which there are differences of opinion amongst our people. They must be relegated to the future.

To Governor Perry belonged all the attributes of true manhood and true greatness. To you it was given to know his worth as a neighbor and a friend. To those of us who were not so fortunate it was permitted to honor him as an eminent lawyer, a patriot and statesman. It was his eminent and unselfish patriotism that led him at the call of his State to surrender his own views of mere policy and unite his fortunes with those

of his fellow-citizens; and when disaster came in after years he was perhaps the boldest to raise his voice against the monstrous wrongs which arbitrary power had inflicted on a gallant though conquered people— wrongs which it was his privilege in his old age to see in a measure redressed.

We make this record to-day, not to perpetuate his name, but to show that we are not unmindful of his virtues and his services. His is one of the few names that were not born to die and it will go down the current of history with the great men of South Carolina to serve in future times and for other generations to illustrate the character of a people whose representatives and exponents they are and of whom any people may be proud.

Let these resolutions be recorded in accordance with the wishes of the bar, and let the Court stand adjourned until to-morrow morning at half-past nine o'clock.

FOURTH OF JULY ORATION.

Delivered in the Baptist Church at Greenville, South Carolina,
on the Fourth of July, 1831.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:—There is something in human nature which delights to recur to the virtuous and heroic deeds of a noble ancestry. There is a feeling in the bosom of every man, whether savage or civilized, that glows with rapture at the mention of dangers encountered, or honors achieved by the valor and wisdom of his country. There is no duty we perform so cheerfully as that of paying honor to the memories of great and illustrious men. There is no event whose anniversary we so willingly join in commemorating as that which reflects lustre on the glory and renown of our national character. There is no festival more pleasing to the finer and better feelings of the human heart than that which celebrates the merited worth of departed heroes and patriots. In every age and among every people in the world, gratitude, reverence and veneration have been found the instinctive principles of man.

It is under the influence of such feelings, inseparable from our nature, that we have assembled here to-day. Actuated by one and the same impulse, urged by one and the same motive, we have come to do honor unto those to whom honor is due. We have met, not like the ancient Romans, to commemorate the anniversary of some proud conquest, or victorious achievement over an oppressed and enslaved people. We have come, not to celebrate a triumph of the imperfect sceptre over rude and savage independence, nor have we assembled to

exult over the fallen ruins of a great and powerful nation. But we have met with mingled emotions of piety, gratitude and virtuous pride, to commemorate the anniversary of American Independence—the birth day of liberty.

In performing the part which has been assigned me on this occasion, need I recur to the discovery and early settlement of this country? Shall I relate the feeling and pathetic story of our forefathers, flying from the land of civil and religious oppression—leaving their homes, their firesides and their families—giving up the luxuries and comforts of a refined society—abandoning the tombs of their ancestors, and breaking asunder those ties which bind man to his own native soil—committing themselves to the dangers and tempests of an unknown ocean—and seeking an asylum in this vast and howling wilderness? Shall I recount the toils, the privations and the painful vicissitudes which they had to encounter in a barren country, exposed to all the inclemencies of a rigorous climate, surrounded by a merciless savage foe, and alternately threatened with war, famine and pestilence? Need I attempt before this assembly to sketch the character of those humble, devout pilgrims who first landed at Plymouth, Salem and Jamestown? Shall I speak of their supreme regard for religion, their dauntless fortitude, their devotion to liberty, their moral virtues and their social feelings? Shall I tell how they converted a dreary wilderness, the abode of savages and the haunt of prowling beasts into fruitful fields and flourishing plantations? Shall I mention their unrivalled prosperity, or their final wealth and greatness? No, fellow-citizens. These things are known to you all. They were impressed on your minds in the days of your infancy. You have read them in the graphic legends of your country. You have seen them on the faithful pages of history. They are fresh in your memories.

The American Revolution is, in every point of view, the most important and interesting event that has ever occurred in the annals of the world. Whether we regard the causes which led to it, the spirit and success with which it was carried on, or the influence which it has had on the destinies of other nations, it stands unequalled, either for purity of conception, boldness in action, or usefulness in example and consequence. There may have been revolutions more extensive, achieved by battles more fatal, or victories more brilliant. But there never was a change in government originated for a purer purpose, or sustained by more devoted patriotism and heroic bravery. The mind of man is incapable of conceiving a more sublime or interesting spectacle than that of a few infant colonies, without any common bond of union, save that of an ardent love of liberty, thinly dispersed over an immense tract of country, and destitute of all the necessary means of warfare, engaging in a struggle for life, liberty and independence, with a great and powerful Empire, rich in every resource, and capable of sending forth to battle millions of mercenary troops! But it was a contest for freedom and the rights of man on the one side, and the sceptre of tyranny and the iron hand of oppression on the other. In a cause so just and holy on the part of the colonies, and so wicked and monstrous on the part of the mother country, it is neither vain-glorious nor inconsistent with the nature of an All-wise Being, to suppose that the ruling hand of Providence assisted in governing and directing the issue.

The manners, habits, education and mode of thinking among the colonists, were eminently calculated to inspire them with a hatred for tyranny and a love of liberty. They were far removed from all the pomp, show and splendor of royalty, and consequently strangers to that influence which a court and nobility imperceptibly exercise over the minds of most men. They were all engaged in agricultural pursuits, and accustomed to

industry, prudence and economy; habits which tend more than anything else to encourage notions of general equality and republican simplicity. They had among them no hereditary titles, honors, or distinctions. They had gradually lost those feelings and affections for England which their forefathers long continued to cherish for the land of their nativity. If they were still reminded that it had once been the home of their ancestors, they quickly recollected that it was a home from which they had been driven by the ruthless hand of oppression. It is therefore not surprising that the colonists should have resisted the first efforts on the part of the British Parliament to tax them without their consent. They were well-acquainted with those fundamental principles of liberty on which the English Constitution is founded. They knew that the right of representation and the right of taxation had hitherto been considered by the subjects of Great Britain, as inseparable. They knew that if they once yielded this well-established principle of magna charta, they would abandon forever all that was desirable in the name of liberty. Hence they immediately recognized a departure from the rights of freemen in the tea and stamp duties. They clearly foresaw the dangers which must ensue, if those acts of usurpation were submitted to. The alarm was simultaneously given in Virginia and Massachusetts by two of the boldest and most fearless spirits that ever shone in the councils of any nation. The names of James Otis and Patrick Henry are intimately associated with all that is great and good in the character of distinguished patriots and statesmen. These illustrious men justly acquired the fame of having been the prime movers of the American Revolution. It was by the loftiness of their genius, the fire, boldness and grandeur of their eloquence, that a tone was given to public opinion, and an impulse to that spirit which declared the people of Great Britain "enemies in war, in peace friends."

Every one who is at all acquainted with the events of the American Revolution must acknowledge that it was fruitful, beyond a parallel, in the production of great and illustrious men. In contemplating the history of that period we know not which the more to admire, the civic virtues, the wisdom in legislation, the genius and eloquence of those who directed the councils of their country; or the military talent, the heroic bravery, the dauntless spirit and disinterested zeal of those who guided her armies and achieved her glory in war. Among those who were distinguished as statesmen, we meet with Franklin, in whose character are united the philosopher, the patriot, and the philanthropist. His fame as a philosopher has extended itself over the civilized world, and is only commensurate with his greatness as a patriot. Associated with him was Jefferson, the great apostle of liberty, whose writings have enriched science, and whose pen has immortalized his country. His career was as brilliant and useful as his patriotism was sincere. In politics his principles have become the model and standard of republicanism. At this period we find John Adams, Richard Henry Lee, and John Rutledge, men whose bold, thrilling and resistless eloquence, like a rushing torrent, carried every thing before it. Whether endowed by nature, or inspired by the greatness of the occasion, they exhibited, in the first Congress, an eloquence which soared above any thing since the days of Cicero and Demosthenes. The republics of Greece and Rome during the proudest period of their forensic history would have ranked them with the most eloquent of their orators. What specimens of nature's greatness were Samuel Adams and Roger Sherman! The one a schoolmaster and the other a shoemaker! And yet for depth of intellect, manly courage, literary attainment, stoic virtue, originality of thought, purity of heart, and practical usefulness, they may be compared to the most distinguished men of antiquity. But it would be an almost endless

task were I to attempt to portray the characters of all those, who, like John Hancock, Henry Laurens, Christopher Gadsden, John Jay, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, were distinguished for their genius, their boldness, their patriotism and their greatness in every virtue that can adorn the character of statesmen, or exalt the lives of patriots. Great and illustrious band of noble spirits! They have been "gathered to the everlasting resting place of their fathers!" But their virtues have consecrated, and time has hallowed their names. Like some towering majestic tree which has breasted the storms of ages, while every thing around it has fallen, the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton, is now the only surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence. He, only, of that assembly of godlike men remains to witness the grandeur and prosperity of his country. Venerable and venerated man! thirteen millions of persons are this day commemorating thy deeds, and offering up praises to thy name!

In turning from the civil history of America during her revolution, to that which tells of her military renown, and points to the leaders of her armies, we are again lost in admiration for her glory and greatness. In other countries there may have been generals more successful, or more distinguished by the brilliancy of their achievements. They may have gained more victories, or taken more captives in battle. They may have made greater conquests, or shed more blood. But there never was a number of military men who possessed in a more eminent degree than the revolutionary officers of America did, all the important and essential requisites of great generals. Where is there to be found a military chieftain who equalled in valor, wisdom, firmness, virtue and devotion to country, our illustrious Washington! Who would exchange his fame as the commander of an army for that of Cæsar's or Alexander's! Who would not rather be Washington at Yorktown than Bonaparte at Austerlitz! It is true there is

more in the situation of the latter to dazzle and bewilder the ambition of a despot. But there is something in the former more truly great and interesting to the virtuous aspirations of a noble soul. The Emperor of France at the head of powerful armies, surrounded with all the resources which his great genius could require, gained splendid and triumphant victories over the confederated sovereigns of Europe. But Washington, at the head of a retreating and flying army, insignificant in point of numbers, destitute of all the requisites of war, kept in awe, and finally overcame the forces of the most powerful kingdom in the world! But what were the objects of the two men? The one fought, as it were, for the love of slaughter, and the other was fighting for the liberty of his country.

Engaged in the same great cause, and equally victorious with the commander-in-chief, was Nathaniel Greene, who, without any previous military education or discipline, became all at once, and that too whilst he was a very young man, the leader of an army which fought successfully with the best generals of England. By his zeal, his unremitted activity, his bravery and his real military genius, he acquired the reputation of being one of the most accomplished officers of his age. His fame as "the hero of the South," is as durable as the plains of Eutaw, or the heights of Guilford. Whilst the Southern country continues to enjoy her liberty, the name of General Greene will be revered and cherished.

In relating the characters of those who lived to enjoy the rewards of their hard-earned fame, there is something pleasing and gratifying to our feelings. But it is painful indeed to revert to the recollection of those who fell at the commencement of their struggle, a sacrifice to the cause in which they were engaged, without even the consolation of knowing that their country was triumphant and victorious. We delight to speak of the virtues of those who lived to enjoy the noble success of their

virtues; but to recall the deeds of those who fell amidst their toils and dangers, fills the human breast with the most melancholy emotions. Such was the fate of Warren, Montgomery, Laurens, and De Kalb. The eloquent and accomplished Warren who was "more attached to liberty than to existence," and who was "as much the foe of ambition as he was the friend of freedom," fell at the commencement of his career whilst serving as a volunteer on Bunkers Hill. Never was the earth crimsoned with the blood of a purer patriot or a better man. Like Warren, fell the brave, the gallant Montgomery, who, it is said, loved glory much, but liberty yet more. "Neither genius, nor valor, nor occasion failed him, but time and fortune." Had he lived longer he would have left his country "the model of military heroism and civil virtues." Had his life been spared on the heights of Quebec, the fortress and the city would certainly have yielded to the continental army. The young, the gallant, and the chivalric Laurens, lived to see his country successful and her Independence secured. He fought throughout the whole of the American Revolution as the ideal knight of some romance. Wherever there was danger in battle, there was his post. He seemed, at times, to court the perils of war with the enthusiasm of a lover and the recklessness of a madman! He was spared, however, to receive the sword of Cornwallis, and to end his career at the close of the war. But he had obtained the summit of his ambition. He had shared the dangers of his country until there were none left to share. He cared not for the honors or rewards which she could bestow. They were something beneath his ambition. Though De Kalb was not a native of this country, yet he was produced, as it were, by the American Revolution. We claim him with Lafayette, Steuben and Kosciusko, as our own. They were all deeply inspired with the cause in which our forefathers were engaged, and nobly offered their assistance.

Fain would I speak, if time permitted, of the heroic bravery, patriotism and virtues of Morgan, Moultrie, Howard, Putnam, Sumter, Stark, Marion, Pickens and many others, who shone so conspicuously in the war of Independence. Distinguished heroes, your names and your renown are engraved on the hearts of your countrymen! Sooner will the theatre of your victories pass away, than your military services be forgotten! Whilst our government continues, whilst there is one spark of liberty left among us, your deeds and your memories shall be honored and cherished. Your sacrifices and your sufferings must be recollected and appreciated whilst the bosoms of your countrymen glow with the feelings of men. The glory of your lives is far above that of the most distinguished captains of antiquity. It is as imperishable as liberty itself.

Need I here recur to those brilliant actions which gained our Independence? Need I recall the battles of Lexington, Concord, Monmouth and Germantown? Or shall I name the victories of Saratoga, Trenton, Cowpens, King's Mountain and Yorktown? Must I recount the laurels which were gained, or the valor and genius which were displayed in those engagements? No, fellow-citizens, you are all acquainted with those victories, battles and engagements. You have all read of them with rapture and delight. Many of you have heard their glorious incidents told at your firesides by fathers who were present at them, and seemed to fight them over again. Neither will I detain you to relate the losses, the toils and the sufferings of those who lived at this momentous era. Great as they were, we will not now lament over them. They should rather inspire us with pride than pity. If they had been ten times greater than they were, those who had to bear them were amply compensated by the blessings which ensued to them and their posterity.

The Declaration of Independence was adopted, and the revolution successfully prosecuted for a number of

years without any federal government. There was no bond of union except that of common danger and common interest. Whilst the states were engaged in a struggle for life, liberty and independence, they needed no incentive to duty from the hand of power. But no sooner was danger over and their Independence acknowledged, than they began to feel the effects of too much security. The articles of the old confederation which had been adopted towards the close of the revolution, were soon found to be too feeble and inefficient for so great a nation, uniting so many various interests and sectional feelings. Domestic disturbances were beginning to be felt, and the government possessed no confidence in the eyes of foreign nations. The world began to think that the theory of a republican government would fail once more. The wisest and best men in the country were on the eve of despondency. They began to believe that all their toils and sufferings, their battles and losses were in vain. The patriots of the revolution were ready to conclude that they had been fighting for a phantom. In this state of things, and under these circumstances, a federal convention was called for the purpose of forming a "more perfect union." This convention was filled with the wisest and best men in the states. They were the same who had fought through the revolution, or who had during that momentous period been conspicuous members of Congress. After many months spent in close and solemn deliberation, the federal constitution was handed forth to the world as the product of their wisdom and labor.

W The idea of a republican government extending over any great extent of country had hitherto been considered as the wildest of all chimeras. Its advocates were considered the most visionary of theorists. They were referred, for refutation of opinions so absurd, to the history of preceding republics. But where is the similarity between the republics of Greece, Rome and Carthage, and that of America? In the latter there is

a new principle introduced, which gives it strength, stability and practical usefulness, all of which were wanting in the former systems of government. It is the principle of representation. This is a modern discovery. In the republics of antiquity there was nothing but a pure democracy. The people assembled in their own proper persons, made laws, and regulated the affairs of the nation. But in this country legislation is carried on and all public business is transacted by means of representatives. The people are not required to assemble and make laws as they did at Athens. Hence, the more extended our republic is, the more permanent will it be.

The federal constitution is the most perfect system of civil policy that the wisdom of man can invent. It is most appropriately adapted to these United States. When we think of the difficulties which had to be encountered in its formation, we are astonished that a plan of government so equitable, so wise, and so republican should have been instituted by the representatives of a country, so extended and so diversified in interest. But the liberal spirit of compromise may be seen in it. Without this nothing could ever have been done towards the formation of so perfect an union. With what pride and self-congratulation should we contemplate this happy charter of our liberties! It is an inheritance bequeathed us by our fathers, and which we are bound to transmit unimpaired to posterity. How fondly should we cherish it! How careful should we be to preserve it! Whether we regard the military glory which preceded it, or the wisdom evinced in its formation, or the prosperity which we have acquired under it, we should in either point of view regard it as the most sacred and precious of all inheritances. Let no one think it can be made more perfect. Changes in politics, like novelties and alterations in everything else, may please for the moment, but are not apt to continue.

Connected with the preservation of this government, and inseparable from those principles on which it is founded, is the preservation of this union. Depend on it, fellow-citizens, that unity of government which constitutes you one people is the main prop and pillar in the edifice of your real independence. On the inviolability of this union depends the enjoyment of that liberty which you so highly prize. You should frown indignantly on the first effort to alienate one portion of this country from another. Be not persuaded that you can in any event abandon this unity of government. These I know are trite maxims. But they cannot be repeated too often. They are the dying words of the father of his country. They were left as his legacy to the people of these United States. I know, said he, that efforts will be made to create among you sectional jealousies and animosities. You cannot shield yourselves too well on this point. This is the language of Washington, a man who was incapable of a thought or an act contrary to the interest and welfare of his country. He was above suspicion. He possessed no other feelings than such as were inspired by a love of liberty.

If we continue united as one people we have everything to expect, glory, prosperity, independence, liberty and renown among the nations of the earth. We shall ere long become the most powerful, as we are already, the most prosperous and happy people in the world. The name of America will everywhere command respect and guarantee the protection of her rights. Her government will have stability and power. Her citizens will enjoy peace abroad and tranquillity at home. The United States will continue, as they heretofore have been, the asylum of the oppressed and persecuted of all nations. Our population will go on increasing in numbers, wealth and respectability. Reared and educated in virtue and religion, at peace with all the world and among themselves, the people of this country will have nothing to mar their glory and happiness.

But now let us turn to the other side of this picture, and see what are the probable consequences of a dismembered government. The history of the petty republics of Greece and Italy, with all their angry feelings, their feuds, their wars and animosities, will present us with a faithful sketch of the dire calamities which must ensue a division of our country into separate and independent governments. We should lose that proud standing which we now have among the nations of the earth. Our rights would be disregarded and our name a term of reproach. We should want that power which is capable of commanding respect abroad and securing tranquillity at home. Our commerce would be unprotected and a prey for every plunderer of the ocean. We should, in a word, sink into insignificance and be exposed to the insults of every vile despot. At home we should inevitably experience those jealousies and contentions which lead to constant war and standing armies. The causes of strife which would spring up between the different states are innumerable. They may be foreseen by any one who is acquainted with those feelings of interest and ambition which always govern the intercourse of neighboring states or kingdoms. It is reasonable to suppose that the more powerful states would attempt to crush the smaller and hence the latter would have to fly for protection to some European kingdom. Then indeed might we say farewell, a long farewell to liberty. In conformation to this picture which I have drawn of disunited America, I appeal to the history of ancient and modern times. Look at Greece during the Achæan and Amphictyonic leagues. Read the history of the Germanic confederacy. View unfortunate Poland as she was in the days of her independence and separate aristocracies. Look into the history of the United Netherlands. Read the wars of the famous heptarchy in England. In the history of these petty neighboring governments, or loosely confederated states, we may see our own situation when the bonds of this Union are severed.

To live united as one people, under one government, we have every inducement that can influence the human bosom. Interest, pride, glory, ambition, danger, virtue, gratitude, love and religion, all conspire to make us live as one people. We are all descended from a common ancestry. We all speak the same language. We are characterized by the same habits, manners and customs. We possess the same religion, and are equally entitled to the glories won in the revolution. Our fathers fought side by side in the great cause of American Independence. We are all countrymen of Lee, Henry, Hancock, Adams and Washington. How shall we, when once separated into three or twenty republics, claim citizenship with these illustrious men! How shall we speak of the battles which achieved our independence! How shall we divide, between the north and the south the honors which were in them won! Must we forget the relationship of a common ancestry! Must we sever those ties of blood and affinity which bind us together! Shall we bury in oblivion that good feeling which has hitherto united us! Shall we take up arms against our kindred and the compatriots of our fathers! Forbid it ye spirits of '76! Shall we fight to destroy that Union which our fathers fought to establish! Forbid it thou great Ruler of the universe! Let not our hands be stained with the blood of our brethren! Let the voice of a brother ascend to Heaven disclosing on us, as it did on Cain of old!

The east and the west, the north and the south are mutually dependent on each other. There may occasionally arise among these different sections of our country a diversity of interests and inclinations. There may be felt at times some temporary inconveniences and hardships from a system of legislation which is to extend over the whole republic. But it will be as apt to be felt in one section as in another. The burthens and grievances are constantly changing and shifting from the north

to the south, and from the south to the north. They are going from the east to the west, and from the west to the east. There have been, since the establishment of this government, complaints from all parts of the country, equally and alike. It was during the administration of Washington that the ratification of Jay's treaty seemed to threaten a dissolution of the Union. The south was then injured and complained. Shortly afterwards, an excise duty on whiskey produced a rebellion in Pennsylvania. Under the administration of Mr. Adams, the alien and sedition laws produced an unprecedented excitement in Virginia and Kentucky. The whole western country were ready at one time to fly to arms for the navigation of the Mississippi. The people of this section complained of their want of a market or outlet for their produce, whilst the Atlantic states were enjoying wealth and abundance. Then came the embargo, under the administration of Mr. Jefferson. To get rid of this entire restraint on commerce, the New England states were on the eve of forming a separate confederacy. They alleged that their situation was intolerable, and that they were on the point of bankruptcy. It was during the administration of Mr. Madison that war was declared against Great Britain. This step was imperiously demanded in order to avenge our honor and wipe off the stain which was left on our national character. But the cry of disunion was heard again in accents still louder from the east. This war, in which the United States acquired so much glory and evinced so much chivalry, was denounced in the pulpit, the rostrum and the legislative hall. It was anathematized throughout the eastern states. So odious and unpopular was it in a city which proudly styles herself the Athens of America, that it was considered disgraceful to advance the government funds to carry it on. At this period there came forth, like a foul, hideous, skulking monster, the Hartford Convention. Its object was to provide ways and means for destroying this Union. But peace to its manes.

Though it did not meet the death of a traitor, yet its fame has gathered around it all the fruits of treason. The war was no sooner closed by a brilliant succession of victories on land and sea than other causes of complaint against the government arose in other sections of the country. The establishment of the United States Bank was one of them. Maryland and Ohio were much excited and made great complaint. The constitutionality of the Bank was denied, resisted and tried in the federal courts. The present system of Internal Improvement and the Tariff came next in quick succession. They are twin sisters, and born under the same latitudinarian construction of the constitution. They are at war with the true spirit of our government, and equally odious in their operations upon the prosperity and happiness of the southern country. We now complain in our turn, of the unwise legislation of the general government. We have cause to complain. We are taxed unjustly and iniquitously, not to support the government—for this we would do most cheerfully—but to enhance the capital of the northern manufacturer. But let us beware that we adopt no hasty, no precipitate, no rash, fatal step to remedy our grievances. Like the evils which have been complained of in other sections of the country, springing from the same source, they may in a short time pass away. The tide of prosperity which has been so long going from the south may ere long roll back on us again. Let us look to the chapter of accidents and wait for the returning good sense of the American people. Let us suffer whilst evils are sufferable, rather than endanger this fair fabric of our ancestors—rather than destroy this Union, and with it the brightest hope of civilized man.

I will not attempt, on this occasion, to discuss the policy or constitutionality of the "*Carolina doctrine*," which has been proposed to the people of South Carolina as a safe and salutary mode of redress. I will not dwell on a subject which has produced so much bitter feeling and party spirit in the state. This day and this occasion are

unfit for party questions. It is an occasion on which we ought to bury every thing calculated to excite an angry feeling or an unpleasant sensation. I cannot refrain, however, from expressing my deep, my profound regret that this question should have taken the course it has in South Carolina. We are all opposed to the Tariff, and sensibly aware of its injurious effects upon our country. We are all ready, and profess our willingness to get rid of it as soon as possible. We differ only as it regards the means and the way by which this is to be done. And on account of this difference, this honest difference of opinion on an incidental point, we have filled our bosoms with the most rancorous and malignant feelings for each other! The ties of friendship have been dissolved, old political associations have been destroyed and new ones formed! Father and son have been seen arrayed in hostile parties against each other! Where is there a patriot who can witness this state of things without feeling the deepest forebodings of the future gloom which may overcast his country? And yet there seems to be no cessation of hostilities! We every day hear of parties rallying and making still greater struggles for the ascendancy! My only wish, my only prayer is, that this heated and angry contest may not prove the downfall of our government and the end of civil liberty. Deep-rooted and fixed as my hatred to the tariff is, and always has been, I am unwilling to get rid of it "*at any and every hazard.*" I am unwilling, *on any account*, to put in jeopardy this union, this government, our independence and our name as a people. I will not, I cannot believe that these, all these, should be submitted to "*the vulgar rules of calculation.*" But if so, "*then indeed*" would I exclaim in the language of a noble and high-toned Carolinian, "*our fathers were the last of American patriots!*" "The blood which they shed at Brandywine and Princeton, the glory which they acquired at Yorktown and Trenton, have been weighed against four cents a yard on woollens!" "The honor

of South Carolina has been regulated by the rule of three. Washington's legacy exchanged for a ledger, and our patriotism reduced to dollars and cents!" "We have calculated the profit and loss of being honorable, generous and free!"

One word more, fellow-citizens, and I shall have done. The basis of all republican governments is the virtue and intelligence of the people. With these qualities any nation may be free, without them none can. Hence the reason why so many efforts to establish a free government have failed. Give to a people enshrouded in darkness and vice all the civil liberty that man is capable of enjoying, and it will be like casting pearl before swine. They will be incapable of retaining or enjoying those blessings which flow from it. A free government, a wise constitution and judicious laws are worth nothing to a people wanting virtue and intelligence. These will be found no restraint on the ambition and corruption of the age. How easy is it for the plainest constitutional principles, and the most obvious and well-established rules of law to be misconstrued and misinterpreted! There is no check on the interest and cupidity of rulers like that of an enlightened and virtuous public opinion. Therefore, fellow-citizens, whilst you remain as intelligent, and as moral as you are at present, you have little cause to apprehend danger to your liberties. But if you ever lose your present standing in knowledge and morals, you will most assuredly lose your freedom. You should consequently encourage science, disseminate information, love virtue and cherish religion. Do these things, live free, and be happy.

AN ADDRESS

Delivered at the Celebration of the Fifty-fourth Anniversary of the BATTLE
OF THE COWPENS, on the Battle-Ground, in Spartanburgh District,
South Carolina, January 17, 1835.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—We have met on a most solemn and interesting occasion—one calculated, beyond all others, to inspire our bosoms with an ardent love of country, a devout reverence for the deeds of our ancestors, and with feelings of deep and overwhelming gratitude to God. We have assembled for the purpose of commemorating a VALOROUS ACHIEVEMENT of American arms, in defence of LIBERTY and the sufferings of a BLEEDING COUNTRY. We have met too on the very plain—now consecrated as the FIELD of BATTLE and of VICTORY—*enriched* with the *blood* of our COUNTRYMEN, and *bleaching* with the *bones* of their ENEMIES.

Yes, fellow-citizens, it was on this glorious and sacred spot, fifty-four years since to-day, as the morning's sun rose fair and brilliant over the heights of King's Mountain—recently immortalized with victory—that a gallant detachment of the American army here unfurled the STAR-SPANGLED BANNER of their country, and nobly resolved to *die* or *conquer* under its inspiring and protecting ÆGIS. No sooner was the STANDARD of LIBERTY hoisted to the morning breeze, and her Flag seen to wave aloft in proud defiance of the opposing foe, than the hearts and drooping spirit of the soldiery became nerved at the sight, and they cheerfully rushed on to the combat. Quickly the silent stillness of this

vast forest gave way to the roar of artillery and all the "din of horrid war." The earth, on which we now stand, was soon *crimsoned* with the *blood*, and *covered* with the *fallen bodies* of the contending armies! And although the battle was one of *undisciplined militia* against a superior number of *select* and *veteran troops*, yet VICTORY was on the side of the former, contending for LIBERTY against TYRANNY and OPPRESSION.

It may with truth be said, that in no battle of the American Revolution was the contest more *unequal*, or the victory more *signal* and *complete*. The British army was superior in numbers, in discipline, in arms, and in everything that can constitute an army, save the *soul* and *spirit* of the *soldier*, and the *noble daring* of the *officer*. In infantry, they were as *five* to *four*, and in cavalry, as *three* to *one*! Every soldier, too, was provided with all the necessary arms and implements of war, and had previously enjoyed all the comforts and conveniences of baggage and provisions. On the other hand, the American troops had been for weeks destitute of almost everything that can render an army comfortable within themselves, or formidable to their enemies. They were a retreating detachment, without artillery, without proper arms, and without baggage or provisions. In the language of a distinguished historian of that period—"the earth was their bed, the heavens their covering, and the rivulets which they crossed their only drink!" In the dead of winter, *barefooted*, and with thin and tattered clothing, they were tracked, amidst snows and frosts, by the *blood* which *trickled* from their *feet*! Yet, under all these sufferings and hardships they were never heard to murmur or complain! They felt that their evils, great as they were, were as nothing when compared with the TYRANNY and OPPRESSION under which they were living. The spirit of Liberty a magnanimous patriotism and a daring chivalry, seemed to inspire them with courage and fortitude under every privation.

It was natural that the British army should have been sanguine of success over their destitute and fleeing enemy—inferior in numbers, in discipline, in arms—and depressed in spirit and in feelings by the plunder and devastation of their country. Great, indeed, were the boastings of that vain-glorious officer, whose name is associated with everything that is *infamous* and *daring*, and whose cruelty and outrages had done more to sink than all his victories had to elevate the cause of Great Britain in South Carolina. But neither Colonel Tarleton nor the British army considered that they were on the eve of contending with men fighting for FREEDOM, and made desperate by their situation—men who believed that they were doing nothing more than their duty, in *sacrificing their lives* in defence of the violated rights of their country.

The Battle of the Cowpens furnishes a most interesting, and before unknown, incident in Military History—that of *undisciplined militia renewing the attack, and charging their assailants with fixed bayonets, after having once been driven from the field*. It is known to all who hear me, that the fierce and terrible onset of Tarleton's legion on this memorable day was first received by the Carolina militia under the GALLANT PICKENS. After a short but firm struggle, they were overpowered and forced to give way. The impetuous shock of the enemy was then nobly withstood by the Virginia and Maryland troops under the ACCOMPLISHED and DISTINGUISHED HOWARD. At this moment a bold and successful charge was made by the cavalry under their BRAVE AND DARING COLONEL, WILLIAM WASHINGTON. Immediately the militia were rallied and gallantly returned the onset which they had received—whilst the whole army, urged by the example, and inspired by the soul and spirit of the ILLUSTRIOUS MORGAN, completed the total overthrow of the British forces. Nothing was now seen on either side by the English soldiery and officers, but *defeat, discomfiture and disgrace*. The in-

fantry quickly threw down their arms and cried for quarters—*quarters* which might have been *refused* their victors had the scales of battle been changed. Colonel Tarleton, instead of returning with General Morgan, in triumph, to take breakfast with him, as he had vainly threatened, was seen scampering most *heroically* down yon long, beautiful plain, with the remnant of his cavalry, overwhelmed by their own confusion and fright. This blustering Colonel had no doubt seen and felt enough of "*the old Wagoner*" and his brave army, without pressing them further with his *hospitality*.

The American officers who commanded in this battle were already known to fame for their long-trying services, devoted patriotism and heroic deeds. The heights of Quebec and the plateau of Saratoga had recently been the theatre of Morgan's glory and renown. He had risen from an humble origin, had served in the ranks, and in the capacity of a *wagoner* in Braddock's war, and was now second in command of the Southern army. He was endowed by nature with a *bold, frank* and *noble spirit*, and had early cultivated a disinterested devotion to his country, which made him the admiration of all who knew him. Whilst gallantly leading on to a desperate charge in the assault upon Quebec, he was captured by the enemy, who were struck with his noble daring, fine appearance and commanding person; and on finding his rank to be only that of a Captain, they immediately offered him the commission of a Brigadier General in the British service, which he *spurned* with the indignation of an INSULTED PATRIOT. Immediately after the Battle of the Cowpens he was forced by ill-health to retire from the army to his farm and family in Virginia, where he lived to a good old age, honored by his country and venerated by his fellow-citizens.

Colonel John Egar Howard was a young and accomplished officer, burning with a noble thirst for military fame, and an ardent desire which was still more noble, of being useful to his country. He had been

trained and disciplined in the army of Washington, and had already served in the Battles of Germantown, White Plains and Monmouth. In the Battle of the Cowpens, it is said he held in his hand, at one time, the swords of seven British officers who had surrendered to him. He afterwards distinguished himself again in the Battle of Eutaw, where he made repeated charges with his regiment, until he was left with only *thirty men* to sustain him in his desperate attempt to dislodge the enemy. With even this remnant of a brave and distinguished regiment he was preparing to make another charge, when he was wounded, and forced to be taken from the field! In private life, Colonel Howard was no less distinguished for his many virtues, accomplished manners, and extensive useful knowledge, than he was in the field for his courage, gallantry, and signal achievements. During the last war, when it was proposed to capitulate with the enemy at Baltimore, by surrendering the city, the venerable Howard rose and said to the Council—"I have as much property in this city as any *one man*, and I have *five sons* in the army—but sooner than surrender to the British, I will sacrifice my property, and see my sons in their graves!"

Colonel William Washington was the nephew of the Commander-in-Chief of the American army, and was one of the first to engage in the war of the Revolution. He carried with him into the service of his country a bold, impetuous, and fearless spirit, seldom equaled, and never surpassed. He had distinguished himself at the North and in the South—at York Island and in the Battle of Trenton-- at Rantol's Bridge, and at Ashley Ferry. For his gallantry and good conduct in the Battle of the Cowpens he received a medal and the thanks of Congress. He afterwards acquired new laurels in the Battles of Guilford and Eutaw. In private life, he was distinguished for the kindness of his heart, the warmth of his disposition, and his generous hospitality.

General Andrew Pickens was a brave, gallant and

active officer throughout the whole of the Revolutionary War in South Carolina. He was one of the first settlers in the upper part of the State, and previous to the commencement of the Revolution, had been engaged in defending the frontiers of Carolina against the frequent incursions and depredations of the Indians. His services had always been of a most arduous and difficult nature. During the most trying and perilous period of her history, South Carolina ever found him actively engaged in maintaining her rights and fighting her battles. He acquired fame and distinction for his good conduct in the Battles of Eutaw, Kettle Creek and the siege of Ninety-Six. For his brave and gallant services in the Battle of the Cowpens, he was rewarded by Congress with a suitable present and a tender of their thanks. Those who knew him best, and who had served with him throughout our struggle for Independence, have said that no one possessed *a heart more honest, or more devoted to his country.*

The Battle whose anniversary we are now celebrating, was the second in a series of victories, which resulted in the downfall of the British Government in South Carolina, and the acknowledgment of American Independence. The victory on King's Mountain, in the Fall preceding, was the *dawn* of hope to the Carolinas and Georgia. Until that glorious event the whole Southern country was regarded as lost. The defeat of General Gates at Camden was the last and finishing blow to all their faint hopes. British forces and military posts were established in every part of South Carolina. The royal provincial Government was in a manner restored, and the citizens forced to take up arms against their *principles*, their *country*, and LIBERTY! Even the Congress of the United States began to despair of the Southern country, and a formal proposition was made in secret Session to treat with Great Britain and *abandon South Carolina and Georgia!* Strange as this proposition may now seem, it was advocated by one of

the most distinguished members of Congress, and as devoted a patriot as the Revolution produced—THE LIVING SAGE OF MONTPELIER.

But in the midst of this gloom and despondency, the spirit of the country was roused by the very means which were resorted to in order to crush its flickering gleam. The people of Carolina saw that instead of obtaining peace and security by their submission to the will of a Tyrant, they only received greater outrage and oppression. Everywhere they witnessed the *plunder* of their property and the *murder* of their countrymen. In many parts of the State some of the most respectable citizens were *hung like felons*, for having *dared to defend their country* against tyranny and oppression. In Charleston, some thirty or forty of the most distinguished Whigs of that place were ruthlessly taken from their homes and families in the hours of the night, without cause or provocation, and sent into a distant country to endure want, privation and imprisonment! Protection, most solemnly given, was *shamefully violated*, and paroles granted were withdrawn and misconstrued!

Grievances and sufferings like these were too much for human nature to bear. Want, privation and hardship, the inhabitants of this country had been accustomed to from the first settlement, in 1750, on Fair Forest and Pacolet. But they were the sufferings and privations of FREEMEN, struggling for an honest support for themselves and families. Such sufferings they could endure, and did endure—but they could not become the *slaves* and *vassals* of a *tyrant*. Their energy was once more called into action. The Battle of King's Mountain spoke their determination. Soon after this gallant exploit of the Whigs of the two Carolinas under their intrepid Colonels, a distinguished officer was sent from the North to take command of the Southern Army. His name and his spirit seemed to diffuse new life into the country. Immediately, preparations were everywhere in making to renew the war. The Battle of the

Cowpens reanimated the drooping spirits of the people, and proved in the end a fatal blow to the military command of Cornwallis. The Battles of Guilford and Eutaw soon followed, and an evacuation of every English station out of Charleston quickly ensued. The noble resolution of General Greene "*to re-conquer the Southern country, or die in the attempt,*" was most happily accomplished.

It is unnecessary for me, on this occasion, to recount to you the history of the American Revolution, or remind you of the battles gained and the sufferings endured by the Continental troops in the Eastern and Middle States. The causes which led to a separation of the Colonies from the Mother country, and the victories which achieved our National Independence, are familiar to most of you. To relate them now would be like the repetition of "a thrice-told story" by one who is incapable of giving it any new charm or embellishment. Suffice it therefore to say, that the war was closed by the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The Independence of the United States was soon afterwards acknowledged, and the country once more restored to peace.

But it was not long before internal commotion convinced the patriots of '76 that the Confederacy of States which had carried them triumphantly through a seven years' war, and secured to them the blessings of FREEDOM and INDEPENDENCE, was a Government unfit for the *selfish times* of peace and quietness. Common interest and common danger no longer operated upon the States, and there was wanting a disinterested patriotism to make them acquiescent in the commands of the Federal Head. The National Government, under the old Articles of Confederation, operated upon the *States*, and not upon the *people*. There was no mode of enforcing the laws of Congress except through the medium of the *State Governments*. No great evil, however, was experienced from this want of power in the Federal

Government whilst the States were engaged in a struggle for their Freedom and Independence. The interest of one, during that struggle, was the interest of them all. But after the restoration of peace, and the operations of the Government becoming more complex, the laws of Congress were deemed unequal in their bearing by some of the States, and obedience refused to them—or, in modern language, those obnoxious laws were *nullified* by the States objecting to them. In order to remedy this paralyzing evil of *nullification*, or State disobedience to the laws of Congress, it was found necessary to form a stronger National Government—a Government which should operate directly upon the *people*, and act independent of all *State authority*. Such a Government was formed and established by the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. Under this Constitution the powers of the Federal Government were greatly enlarged and the powers of the States in a like manner diminished. The *highest* attributes of *sovereignty* were yielded to the General Government. The power of declaring war and making peace, raising an army, building a navy and coining money, etc., were all vested in Congress, and prohibited the States. The Federal Constitution provides also, that Congress shall guarantee to every State a Republican form of Government, and that no State shall have anything in her Constitution or laws contrary to the Constitution of the United States, or the laws made in pursuance thereof. It is further ordained, that the Constitution of the United States, and the laws of Congress passed in pursuance of it, shall be *the supreme law of the land*, and that all State officers shall be *sworn* to support this SUPREME LAW.

In order to give the Federal Government the power of enforcing its own laws, independent of the whim and caprice of the States, Federal Courts were established with proper judicial and ministerial officers. It was made the duty of these Courts to decide “all cases

in law and equity arising under this Constitution and the laws of the United States"—to decide "all controversies to which the United States shall be a party"—and "all controversies between two or more States."

It will be seen from this view of the Constitution of the United States that the State Governments are expressly made *inferior* to the Federal Government. They are prohibited engrafting into their laws or Constitutions anything repugnant to the Constitution or laws of the United States. They are not permitted to form any Government in derogation of *republican principles*; and it is made the express duty of Congress to see that no such governments are adopted by the States. In all controversies between two or more States, they are bound by the decision of the Judicial Department of the Federal Government.

To say that the States are still *equal, sovereign and independent*, is surely a solecism in language, which none but a mind clouded by passion and prejudice can for a moment believe. Instead of having an *equal* influence in legislation, or an equal voice in managing the affairs of the nation, one State has a representation in Congress of *forty members*, and another only *one member*. Can there be an *equality* where *four* States have a greater number of representatives than *twenty others*? The States are *not* equal, either in wealth or population, nor should they be in Federal power. Instead of being *sovereign*, the States can do nothing which indicates sovereignty in the ordinary acceptance of the term. No State can declare war, raise an army, build a navy, or coin money. To call a Government *sovereign* which possesses none of these high attributes of *sovereignty*, is a gross misapplication of terms. That the States are not Independent is obvious from their being compelled to submit to the "*supreme law*" of another Government, from their being prohibited forming any other than a Republican Government, and from the liability of their

citizens to be *taxed and dragged into war* by another power *against the will of the State*.

It matters not what may have been the relative situation of the States previous to their adoption by the Federal Constitution. Whether they were *sovereign, equal and independent* at that period does not in any way affect our present National Government. It is admitted that they were *distinct and separate communities* under the Colonial Government, that they were *equal* under the old Articles of Confederation, and that they were *independent and sovereign* in adopting the Constitution of the United States. But having accepted this Constitution for their Government, they yielded a portion of their power, rights and privileges in the same way that a man does, in a state of nature, when he consents to become a member of society. The only question for the consideration of the States in adopting the Federal Constitution was, whether it was more to their interest, prosperity and happiness as a people, to retain their separate independence and sovereignty, or, by giving this up, to become united members of ONE GREAT NATION. The people of one State, in giving the Federal Government a control over themselves, acquired a partial control over the people of twelve other States. They also become entitled to the protection of these other States when their rights and interests were violated by any Foreign Power.

Although the States were *separate communities* under the Colonial Government, *equal members* under the old Articles of Confederation, and *independent sovereignties* in adopting the Constitution of the United States, yet they always regarded themselves, and were so regarded by the world, as ONE PEOPLE, having a common origin, speaking the same language, and possessing similar laws and institutions. The Colonies were under the same mother country, and all governed in the same manner. There was, too, a constant intercourse and emigration from one to another. Relations of the same

families were to be found in all of them. Then, so far as a common origin, identity of interests, similar laws, and a similar Government, the ties of kindred and a constant intercourse between each other could make separate communities ONE PEOPLE, the Colonies had already assumed that character previous to the American Revolution. The oppressions of Great Britain were aimed at the Colonies as ONE NATION, they were felt as ONE NATION, and resented as ONE NATION. The war was begun by the Colonies as *one people*, the battles fought and the victories won were claimed by them as *one people*, and their Declaration of Independence was made and acknowledged as the work of *one people*. There was not, during the whole revolutionary struggle, a single battle of any importance in one State, in which the troops from other States did not participate. The signal victory which we are now so proudly commemorating, was not achieved by South Carolina alone, but by an army composed of troops from Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina and other States. The superior commanding officers were all, save one, from out of South Carolina. In fact, it was by a Northern army commanded by Northern officers, that the *soil* of Carolina was *re-conquered* and her *citizens rescued* from British bondage.

It is passing strange that any one acquainted with the nature of our Government, and familiar with all these glorious events of our Revolution, should boldly assert that his *love of country* is *confined* to the *narrow limits* of South Carolina, and that he owes *no allegiance* to that Government which achieved his independence, and which now protects his rights from foreign aggression, and honors and dignifies him with the proud character of an American citizen! I am happy to know that such a feeling is of recent date; and I hope to God it may be of short duration. *Patriotism* it is not, for in this holy and sacred feeling of our nature there is nothing *selfish*, nothing *narrow* and

contracted. It may be such a love of country as found a place in the *ambition* of Napoleon when he said, "I AM FRANCE." Perhaps these modern patriots would say—have they not said it?—WE ARE SOUTH CAROLINA, and *South Carolina is our Country!*

The citizens of the United States for years after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, everywhere exerted themselves in manifesting their *extended patriotism*. The feelings cherished by them all were for "their country, their whole country, and nothing but their country." No one then thought of appropriating only a portion of this Union for his country. The patriotism of the South was not confined to *State limits*, nor bounded by Mason and Dixon's line. The citizen of Carolina was proud to know that he was a countryman of Hancock and Adams, of Washington and Franklin. The names of Jefferson and Lee, of Greene and Warren, were as dear to him as those of Pinckney and Rutledge, or of Marion and Sumter. He knew and felt that he was as much the *countryman* of the one as he was of the other. The liberty which he enjoyed was neither acquired by the North nor the South, the East nor the West, but by the united exertions of them all.

Surely this was the feeling, and this was the patriotism with which South Carolina engaged in the last war. No sailor of her's had been pressed and torn from his country. But she then felt that the gallant Tar of New England was *her* countryman, and it was to avenge *his* rights that she so nobly urged, through her Representatives in Congress, the Declaration of War. Had she then acted on those principles which her Legislature now professes, the sailor would have continued to linger in his dungeon whilst her citizens were enjoying an inglorious peace!

The Union of these States was also, until within a few years past, regarded by all as the GREAT PALLADIUM of our Liberty and Independence. We were taught to look to it with a holy and devout reverence. No one

dared to think or speak of it except in terms of *love* and *admiration*. If any other feeling than this were discovered in the bosom of any one, the finger of *scorn* was pointed at him as an *enemy* to his *country*, and a *recreant* to those *liberties* which he had inherited from his ancestors. As well might a man have proclaimed his *enmity* to *religion*, and his *detestation* of *freedom*, as to have shown an unfriendly impulse towards this sacred Union! There was also a rivalry in expressing our attachment to the General Government. In South Carolina, we *prided ourselves* in our *national feelings*.

But, fellow-citizens, how sadly have times changed! Those feelings are no more! That extended patriotism which once elevated our feelings and ennobled our souls, is gone! That holy and devout reverence for the Union once so fondly cherished, is now lost! The General Government, instead of being admired, sustained and supported, is openly *reviled*, *denounced* and *despised*. The Union, instead of being looked to as the palladium of our Liberty and National Independence, is boldly assailed with destruction. That patriotism which would extend itself beyond the *narrow limits of South Carolina*, is regarded as TREASONABLE, and attempts have been made to punish it as TREASON! A dissolution of the Union has been solemnly provided for by a Convention of the State! Yes, fellow-citizens, that very *feeling* and *spirit* which met with *universal execration* when discovered lurking within the walls of a Hartford Convention, has been openly *vaunted* by the State of South Carolina, and *honored* and *admired* as *patriotism*!

What, fellow-citizens, has been the cause of all this? Is there a man within the sound of my voice who does not know, to his heart's sorrow? I ask if there be a town, village or hamlet in Carolina, where the DEMON of NULLIFICATION has made its appearance without *poisoning* and *blighting* all that is *sacred* in friendship, all that is *patriotic* in feeling, and all that is *lovely* and

estimable in society! Friendship, love of country, the ties of kindred and the feelings of religion, have withered in its presence, like life and vegetation before the fabled Upas! It has substituted *discord* for *peace*, not only in the halls of legislation, but in the *family circle*, and the very *sanctuary* of God!

It is not my purpose, on this occasion, to enter into any refutation of those *wild, absurd, and disorganizing* heresies which have recently been embodied and yclept "the doctrine of Nullification." Their best refutation is a clear head, an unprejudiced mind, and an honest heart. But I cannot forbear to remark that, in the development of this doctrine, we have seen what the world never before witnessed—a *mighty and powerful effort to change the fundamental principles of a Government by mere sophistry and metaphysical reasoning!*—The history of South Carolina for the last five years will show to posterity genius and talents, industry and assiduity—worthy of a better cause—laboring to restore those very evils which, under the Articles of Confederation had well-nigh proved the destruction of liberty and the utter futility of all our revolutionary toils and suffering. Wonderful indeed have been the exertions recently made to overturn this FAIR POLITICAL FABRIC! But more wonderful still has been the infatuated success of this unholy work!

Not long since we saw our own South Carolina—foiled in her new sophistry and metaphysics—boldly *arraying* herself against the U. S., then wreaking her disappointed vengeance on a minority of her own citizens! By the magic of this same spirit of Nullification we have had invented new Oaths of Allegiance, and new Bills of Treason, for the purpose of *entrapping the consciences* and *crushing the spirit* of FREEMEN! Although we have lived happily and prospered for the last fifty years under the old constitutional Oath, a new one is now to be required, in order to prevent our patriotism extending itself beyond the Savannah river on the one

side, and the western mountains and eastern swamps of Carolina on the other. For what was this Oath of Allegiance intended, if it was not for the purpose of weakening the bonds of this Union, and confining to a *single spot* that patriotism which should be as *broad* as *our country*? I ask if this amendment of the Constitution was not made avowedly to teach us—yea, *swear* us—that our *first* and *highest* duty is to South Carolina? This principle established, the Sovereignty of the State must follow, and a rapid stride has been made towards the dissolution of the Union.

I cannot perceive, fellow-citizens, that the objectionable features of this Oath have been removed by the late "Compromise" between the two parties in the Legislature. The Union party were opposed to the Oath because the word "Allegiance" was construed to mean an *undivided* and *exclusive* allegiance. They contended that they owed *allegiance* to *both* Governments, but that their *highest* allegiance was due the *United States*. The Nullifiers, on the other hand, asserted that allegiance was *indivisible*, and due *only* the *State*. With this construction of allegiance it was impossible for the Union party to take the Oath. And instead of this construction being abandoned by the Nullifiers, they still assert and contend for it. In the Compromise, they have only said that the *allegiance* mentioned in the Oath *does not interfere with the Constitution of the United States*. This is acknowledging nothing more than what they have hitherto contended for. According to their views, we owe *no allegiance* whatever to the *United States*; and consequently, by swearing *exclusive* allegiance to the *State*, we cannot be acting in violation of any duty or obligation under the Federal Constitution. But the Union party, believing that their *highest* allegiance is due the *United States*, cannot take an Oath of *exclusive* allegiance to South Carolina without violating their paramount duty under the Federal Constitution.

It must appear from this view of the subject, that the

"Compromise" has not touched the true point at issue between the two parties—the *nature of allegiance*, and whether *exclusive* or *divisible*. If the Union party had been allowed to construe the Oath for themselves, they never could have objected to it. With their understanding of allegiance as being due both Governments, they could not hesitate about swearing to "be faithful and *true allegiance* bear the State." For in bearing *true* allegiance to the State, they were not prevented bearing even a *higher* allegiance to the United States. But the great danger was, that after taking the Oath with this meaning, a different one might be given to it by the Courts. And surely we may yet be placed in this dilemma.

If it had been admitted in the Compromise that allegiance was due the United States or that allegiance and obedience were synonymous, no objections could have been urged against the adjustment. And if the Appeal Court will now decide that allegiance is *divisible* and due *both* Governments, all conscientious scruples on the part of the Union party will be removed. This decision that Court would be bound to make, or decide that the Oath was unconstitutional. If any other decision were made, it would be reversed by the Federal Courts.

There is no one more anxious than the humble individual who now has the honor of addressing you, to see our country once more restored to peace and quietness. I am sure no one has greater cause to wish peace—for no one has experienced more fully the effects of discord and excitement. But I must confess that I cannot entertain any strong hopes of peace whilst I see the SPIRIT of DISUNION still stalking abroad in our country. Wherever my eyes turn, from the late Inaugural of the Executive down to the humblest newspaper paragraph, I can see an effort to establish those very principles against which we have all along been contending. The *independence, sovereignty and equality* of the States is

claimed. The right of State interposition is asserted. Allegiance of a *primary, paramount and exclusive* nature is maintained to be due the State. Sectional jealousies and sectional prejudices are most assiduously fostered and cherished. The General Government is denounced in a spirit of *bitterness and sarcasm*, at war with every feeling of respect or regard for it. These "signs of the times" are surely no harbinger of peace to the lovers of the Union, or the Union itself.

I know that the charge of *disunion* is indignantly denied by those who have espoused the doctrine of Nullification. But it is in vain for men to tell me that they love this Union when I see them raising their *parri- cidal hands* against it. It is folly for men to talk thus, and at the same time declare that if the Union were dissolved it would pour an unprecedented flood of wealth and prosperity into the Southern country. Can those who supported the Ordinance of Nullification, providing for a dissolution of the Union, have any love for that Union? As well might we be told that the PARRICIDE loves his father when he is *plunging a DAGGER into his BOSOM!*

It has been said, fellow-citizens, that "the *price* of LIBERTY is ETERNAL VIGILANCE." I would ever have you bear in mind its *sacred truth*. Let the maxim be engraved on your hearts, and handed down to your posterity. Be vigilant, not only of those *in power*, but doubly watchful of those who are *ambitious of power*. There never will be wanting, in any age or country, those who would grasp the *sceptre* in the name of LIBERTY. It is a trite maxim, that tyrants always *start* demagogues, and that demagogues *end* in becoming tyrants. The advance towards power is never *open* and *direct*, but always *convert* and *insidious*.

If any people on earth ought to be vigilant of their rights, surely the American people ought to be, for no other people in the world are so *free, so happy, and so prosperous*. But none are more exposed to internal

discord and commotion. There is not in any other country the same latitude to ambition, or the same scope for faction. We have twenty-four Governments in one, extending over a vast territory, and in some measure diversified in interest. Hence it is possible for *faction* to assume the form of a *regular government*, and for disappointed ambition in one sphere to have an opportunity of wreaking its vengeance in another. If the people of this country be destined to lose their Liberties, it must be effected by the State Governments through a dissolution of the Union. The National Government is too foreign in its operations, and has too weak a hold upon the affections of the people ever to prove dangerous to FREEDOM.

In conclusion, I would exhort you, fellow-citizens, in the name of YOUR COUNTRY, in the *name* of LIBERTY, and in the *name* of ALMIGHTY GOD, to look to this SACRED UNION—reared by the wisdom and cemented with the blood of your fathers—as the BULWARK of your FREEDOM—as the PALLADIUM of your LIBERTY—as the *very existence* of your NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE and your PROSPERITY and HAPPINESS as a PEOPLE. Let your last and dying words be those of the venerable sage and patriot of Quincy—"THE UNION—LIBERTY—AND INDEPENDENCE—ONE AND INSEPARABLE—NOW AND FOREVER."

ADDRESS

Delivered before the Literary Societies of ERSKINE COLLEGE, Abbeville District, S. C., on the Fifth Anniversary, Sept. 18, 1844.

An illustrious poet has said, more in the spirit of philosophy than of song, that "the proper study of mankind is man." The wisdom of this remark can but strike the mind of every one. It is not only the proper study of man to know his own faults and imperfections, to find out his own intellectual powers and ability, so that he may govern his passions and evil propensities, and cultivate judiciously those gifts of mind and body which God has bestowed upon him, but it is proper that he should study the lives and characters of his fellow-men, see *their* faults, and learn to imitate their virtues.

Nothing can conduce more to the improvement of the young mind, than the reading and contemplation of the lives of great men—men who have borne an illustrious part in the affairs of this world. It is by knowing and studying their virtues, their noble deeds and heroic daring, that we are inspired with emulation and encouraged to imitate their noble examples. In the history of such men, we are taught by example to turn from vice, and to admire and love virtue. We see how great and happy they have become, how much they have been honored, and what noble rewards they met for their well-doing in this life. And although in many instances their cotemporaries may have been ungrateful, yet succeeding generations have never failed to do them justice.

It is said that men are known and to be judged by the company they keep. That there is something in human nature which has a tendency to adapt itself to the circumstances which surround us, must be obvious to

every one. And it is perhaps fortunate that we are so constituted—otherwise our unhappiness and discontent would be greatly augmented in this life. Is it not something, then, to be in company with the wise and great who have gone before us? In the study of biography we are in such company. We are made familiar with their lives, actions and thoughts, and they leave their impress upon our own characters and feelings.

No man ever read the autobiography of Franklin, and studied his character, without feeling himself a wiser and better man. The young, entering upon the trying and busy scenes of this world, feel themselves stimulated and encouraged by the trials and difficulties which beset the early path of that sage benefactor of mankind. In the character of Franklin there was a rare combination of wisdom, simplicity and greatness, without one feeling of envy or unkindness towards his fellow-men. His sole object in this life seems to have been to do good to others, and to prepare himself for doing the greatest good. There is no one whose life is more worthy of being read, or whose character can be studied to greater advantage.

He rose from the humblest walks of life, without education, and without the aid or assistance of any one, to be, in the language of the Earl of Chatham, "an ornament to human nature, and the admiration of all Europe." The secret of his rise and greatness was his industry and integrity of purpose. They naturally and necessarily lead to the cultivation of those other virtues, which so beautifully adorn his character. And there is scarcely one in which he did not excel. He knew well that no one could be great or useful without industry, no matter what may be his talents or genius.

Let me here remark, that this principle cannot be too strongly impressed upon the minds of young men. In every pursuit of life, industry and application are everything. The human mind is so constituted that we cannot be altogether inactive. Employment of some

kind we must have. If not usefully and wisely employed, we shall certainly be engaged unwisely or viciously. Hence the absolute necessity of selecting some useful pursuit in life, and early learning habits of industry and study.

The industry of Franklin was as remarkable as his success in life was wonderful. Whilst an apprentice boy he lived on bread and water, in order to have time to read whilst his companions were gone to their meals. He was equally industrious in after life, wherever we see him, whether as an editor of a newspaper, the colonel of a regiment, a member of congress, the ambassador at foreign courts, or the sage and philosopher amidst the learned societies of Europe. He was a man of great observation as well as industry, and no opportunity escaped him, either at home or abroad, in noticing and treasuring up the remembrance of everything which came before him. In this way he made many of his most important discoveries in natural philosophy. He tells us that he reaped the truth of a proverb which he was early taught by his father: "Seest thou a man diligent in his calling he will stand before kings and princes." He had the honor not only of *standing* before many kings and princes, but even that of *sitting down* at the same table and dining with some of them.

Franklin's benevolence and justice were equal to his industry and economy. No one had the good of mankind more at heart than he had; no one ever labored more assiduously to improve the condition of his fellowmen. He practised what few seem to know, that the most acceptable service we can render our God is that of doing good to one another. He refused to take out patents for his important discoveries in the useful arts because they were discoveries which would lead to the comfort and benefit of mankind, and to the free enjoyment of them he would lay no restrictions. So high was his sense of justice that he gave to charitable and

public purposes all that he had saved from his salary whilst in the employment of his country.

Franklin united in his character the simplicity of a child with the wisdom of the sage. His boldest and most brilliant experiments in natural philosophy were conducted with a simplicity truly amazing. A silk cord, a key, and a piece of brown paper, were the only apparatus used by him in drawing down the lightnings from heaven.

The character of Washington is a noble and proud model for the study of the patriot and hero. History can give us no other example at once so perfect and so illustrious. He was an utter stranger to that feeling which has darkened the character of so many who have rendered great services to their country. He possessed a proud purity of purpose and magnanimity of spirit which never permitted him to entertain one selfish feeling—all that he did was for the good of his country, wholly and solely. He lost sight of himself altogether whilst in the service of his country. His greatness sprang from and rested on a pure heart and unerring judgment. He made no pretensions to the brilliancy of genius or the wisdom of learning. His only ambition was to be useful to his country. He cared not for power, and looked with indifference on mere honors. He accepted office only to render service to his country.

In the character of this great man there is one feature which we cannot study too much. Like Franklin, his aim through life was to master himself and have the control of his own feelings and passions. He was by nature a man of violent temper, strong feelings and passions. They would have often led him astray but for his command of himself. And his self-control was as perfect as his ambition was spotless.

How few are there in this world who make it their study to control and master their own passions and bad feelings! And yet how important is this study in the life of every one. How much of evil, how much of dan-

ger, and how much of misery and ruin should we avoid, if we were to do so. Franklin's self-scrutiny carried him so far as to make him keep a diary of his faults and errors. He not only rose in the morning with a determination to do well, and restrain all of his evil passions and propensities, but at night he enquired of himself whether he had done so, and wrote down every omission.

In the lives and characters of most great men, we shall find that their greatness is too often sullied by some weakness or glaring faults of character. Few men are perfect. But we may profit as much by the *faults* of great men, as by their *virtues*. Like dark spots on a bright picture, we see them the more readily, and more deeply regret them on account of the brightness of the picture.

Such must be the feelings of every one in contemplating the character of Lord Bacon, who has been justly styled "the wisest, greatest, basest of mankind." He was endowed by nature with a mighty intellect, a genius which seemed to encompass the whole circle of human science. He had amassed treasures of learning which no one man ever before possessed. And yet, with all his genius and learning, he possessed weaknesses and faults which would have sullied the character of the humblest man who lived in his day and time. One would naturally suppose, too, that such a man, possessing a mind imbued with so much wisdom and philosophy, would soar above the ordinary vices and frailties of our nature. But not so. Lord Bacon has been charged with base ingratitude to his friend and patron, the Earl of Essex. He not only forgot all the magnificent presents which the noble Earl had ever made him, and all the generous acts of kindness which he had received at his hands when poor and humble, but he sought the blood and life of his patron with all the insolence and vengeance of a malignant and unprincipled persecutor. He has likewise been charged with

bribery and corruption whilst discharging the high duties of Lord Chancellor of England.

That these charges are true, to the extent to which they have been made, may admit of some doubt. For his conduct towards the Earl of Essex, there are some excuses offered by his biographer. But no excuse can palliate the crime of ingratitude so wanton and so foul. That he received money from suitors whilst Lord Chancellor is very certain; but it was then the custom and habit of that court. And although Lord Bacon never refused money which was offered him as a bribe, he nevertheless decided all of his cases according to law and equity, without being influenced by the bribe which he had pocketed.

The great faults in the character of Lord Bacon grew out of his want of firmness—a natural defect in his character, which no genius nor learning could supply. But for this infirmity, terrible as it proved in its consequences, his character would in all probability have been as bright as his genius was illustrious. He wanted firmness to resist the overtures and commands of his sovereign. Owing to this, he engaged in the prosecution of his early friend and patron, instead of boldly resigning his office, and giving up all future honors at the Court of Elizabeth. Owing to this want of firmness, he was induced, by the threats and persuasions of King James and his infamous minister, the Duke of Buckingham, to plead guilty to all the charges of high crimes and misdemeanors which had been preferred against him. Had he possessed the high, indomitable courage which should have belonged to his genius, he could have defended himself with great plausibility, if not with entire success. But then the odium which fell on his head would have had to be borne by the king and his favorite minion.

Without firmness and high moral courage no man can act correctly no matter how pure his principles may be. Without firmness no man is to be depended on in any

great emergency. He may know the proper course to pursue, and resolve to pursue it, but he will not be able to resist the importunities and threats of those who would mislead him.

In his philosophy, Lord Bacon manifested as much boldness and originality as he did meanness and subserviency in politics and law. This was because he had not to contend with his fellow-man. He was left in the field of philosophy to his own genius. And it is strange that one should have the boldness to explore the mysteries of nature, and to pry into the highest works of his God, and yet want *firmness* enough to resist the importunities of an unprincipled courtier. However corrupt Lord Bacon may have been in law and politics, or friendship and morals, he was perfectly pure and correct in his philosophy. In other matters, he may have sought honors, or been mercenary in his feelings, but in this his great system of philosophy, he sought only *truth*.

Lord Bacon lived in the most illustrious age of English history, and was surrounded by many of the greatest and most remarkable men the world ever produced. Shakespeare and Ben Jonson were his cotemporaries. Lord Coke was his great *rival* at the bar and his *victor* at the shrine of beauty. The learned, brilliant and accomplished Sir Walter Raleigh flourished at the same court, as did the equally unfortunate Essex. But the genius of Bacon was towering invisibly high above them all—no one approached him, and no one was to be compared to him. He stood alone in the greatness of his learning and the splendor of his mighty genius.

To pass from the character of Lord Bacon, the great statesman, lawyer and philosopher, to that of Napoleon Bonaparte, the hero and conqueror, is easy and natural, although they differ so widely in many of their essentials of greatness. Bonaparte, without any learning, to be called by that name, possessed a genius more gigantic, an intellect more mighty, than ever before fell to the lot

of human nature. No one can read his life and study his character without being struck with awe as to the extent of his genius and ability. What others learned by hard study and laborious research, he seemed to have by intuition. He had scarcely ever read a legal principle in his life, and yet in the formation of the Napoleon Code, he showed himself more familiar with the principles of law than the wisest and most learned lawyers of France. As a civil ruler he never had an equal. It is doubtful whether all the sovereigns of the earth, from the creation of the world to the present time, could furnish, if their rarest and highest gifts were selected, the materials to compose so great a governor of mankind and ruler of nations as Napoleon Bonaparte.

As an orator few men ever equaled him, if we are to judge of eloquence by the effects which it produces on the audience. Bonaparte would say more striking things in a speech of ten minutes than was ever said in an hour by Cicero or Demosthenes. He could accomplish the intended effect of a speech before the polished Roman or Athenian would be able to get through the exordium. As a writer his style is worthy of being taken as a model by every one who wishes to express his ideas in the fewest words and in the most forcible manner. He is also the most voluminous writer the world has ever produced. It is said by Allison in his charming history of Europe, that Napoleon wrote more than Voltaire, Bolingbroke and Sir Walter Scott all put together. This he did in the midst of his army on the field of battle, and whilst governing, with the minutest particularity, the varied interests of the millions who were subject to his sway.

As a general he surpassed all the conquerors who had ever preceded him. It is true that Alexander was a younger man than Napoleon when he made his Eastern conquests, and the countries subdued may have equaled those conquered by Napoleon in population and extent of territory, but the Persians, Egyptians and Indians

were an effeminate and luxurious people, and never have been able to withstand a hardy, disciplined and organized force. The conquests of Great Britain at this time in a portion of that country, show the facility with which an army may pass through these Eastern nations. There seems to be something in the climate of a Southern people which enervates and enfeebles them.

Hannibal may, with more propriety, be compared to Napoleon as a general. There is some analogy between them and their fortunes. They both had to contend with the same difficulties in many instances, and they both fought against disciplined forces, experienced generals and a highly civilized people. They were both highly successful for a time, and were both ultimately conquered; but Napoleon knew how to improve on a victory and secure a country when once conquered. This the Carthaginian seems not so well to have understood.

Julius Cæsar and Napoleon Bonaparte were very much alike in their characters and conduct as generals—attending to the comforts of their soldiers, enduring fatigue, exposing themselves to danger, robbing the conquered countries to maintain their own armies and corrupt their own citizens. They were alike in the rapidity of their movements and the secrecy of their attack. But Cæsar's conquests were all made over a barbarous and half-civilized people, except the conquest of his own country. In point of intellect there may also be instituted some sort of comparison. Julius Cæsar was one of the first orators of Rome—perhaps next to Cicero himself. He was also a beautiful writer, as may be seen by his Commentaries. That he was a wise and successful governor of mankind cannot admit of a doubt.

The great fault in Bonaparte's character was his *selfishness*. This led to all the errors of his life. He was by nature kind-hearted and affectionate. There was nothing of cruelty in his temper or disposition, except when it became necessary to promote his own

selfish views. He loved Josephine ardently and passionately; she had shared with him his humbler fortunes, and had patiently endured with him the fatigues of some of his campaigns; but he put her away and married a woman whom he had never seen, because she was the Arch Duchess of Austria and he was anxious to have an heir to his throne. He loved his brothers, and made them kings and princes; and yet he treated them like slaves for the gratification of his own ambition. He loved his officers and crowned them with honors, wealth and distinction; he was as kind as a father to his soldiers, and has been seen administering with his own hand to their humblest wants on the field of battle; he studied the comforts of his army with a philanthropy which would do credit to a Howard; he has been known to yield his own horse to his sick soldiery, and expose his life in the hospitals of Egypt attending to their comforts. But in order to gratify his unhallowed ambition to gain a battle or conquer a nation, or add a new laurel to his brow, he would sacrifice officers and men by thousands and hundreds of thousands.

In one respect he was certainly the opposite of Lord Bacon. There was no want of firmness in his character. His courage was indomitable. Nothing could shake it. To his mind there were no terrors. He cared not for the combined forces of Europe. With an army of fifty thousand men he would undertake to conquer one of three hundred thousand. We see him, almost solitary and alone, escaping from Elba, and throwing himself into the midst of an army of ten thousand, sent to capture him. Without an army, and without a dollar in his treasury, we see him putting himself in hostile array to the combined forces of England, Austria, Prussia and Russia. Neither power nor wealth, nor the smiles of the beauty, nor the fascinations of glory and fame could make him yield or falter in his resolution.

But for his selfishness, Napoleon would have been one of the *best*, as well as one of the *greatest* of men.

His fame would have been sullied by no crime, though it might have been far different from what it is in splendor and brilliancy. But in how many characters, great and small, do we see this same fault blazing forth conspicuously and marring and destroying all that is beautiful or useful in their lives. How common a fault is it in the character of mankind. We find it more or less in the heart of every one. How hard, therefore, should we endeavor to guard against it. In the character of Bonaparte, how fatal was it. With what crimes did it cover him all over. For twenty years it destroyed the peace of Europe, over-turned Empires, subdued nations, and destroyed the fairest and richest cities of the earth.

There is much to study in the character of Dr. Johnson, the great moralist—many traits to admire and some to condemn. His life, as written by Boswell, is, perhaps, the most admirable specimen of biography to be found in the English language. It makes us thoroughly and minutely acquainted with the man. And how different does Dr. Johnson appear in the pages of Boswell from any character which we may form of him from his own writings. In fact this great leviathan of literature had two characters—the character in which he wrote, calm, dignified and philosophical—and the one in which he spoke, which was impatient, violent and rude, approaching vulgarity. He was overbearing and insulting in his conversation and intercourse with his fellow-men. But in his writings he acts and speaks the moralist and philosopher in every line. His style of writing is stiff and formal, showing great labor of thought in the formation of his sentences. But he conversed in a free, easy and natural style.

Dr. Johnson was a man of great learning and ability, great labor and industry, but not regular in his studies or mental efforts. He was a most kind-hearted and charitable man, but he had no respect for the feelings of others. No man would relieve physical want or suffer-

ing more cheerfully than Dr. Johnson, or make greater sacrifices to do so; but he would inflict the greatest mental anguish without being moved, and do it with a deliberation truly savage. He was a man of great and sincere piety, but his religion was not free from the blindest superstition. With all of his strength of intellect he was possessed of weaknesses which would be laughed at in a child. He believed in ghosts and would always enter the house with a particular foot first, never being known to enter with the other foremost. He was a very patriotic man, but he most cordially despised those who differed with him in politics, although they were equally patriotic with himself. Such were some of the inconsistencies in the character of this great man, and they are found in some measure, in the character of every one.

Dr. Johnson had great confidence, as well he might have, in his virtue, morality and piety. He was a philosopher, and could advise others to look with indifference on this life and all its charms and pleasures. He was wedded to no absorbing pleasure, and had no strong ties or attachments to bind him to this world. And yet he could never contemplate death without the greatest horror. The idea of dying would always fill his mind with terrors unspeakable.

But the great fault in his character was his want of manners, his violence, his rudeness and his coarseness. If he had tried as hard to improve his temper and manners as he did to treasure up learning, he might have left behind him a more enviable character; one which we could study and imitate to much greater advantage. The scholar and learned man is too apt to disregard the study and practice of those courtesies and amenities of life which make our intercourse with each other pleasant and agreeable. Manners are to be acquired as well as science and literature, and they are just as important to us through life.

One of the proudest and noblest characters in English history is that of John Hampden. He was a gentleman

by birth and education. He was a gentleman in manners, feelings and intercourse with his fellow-men; a country gentleman of learning, talents, high honor and noble patriotism. He was a bold and disinterested man, modest and unassuming; he never thrust himself forward in the world. When a great and terrible crisis came in the affairs of his country, he cheerfully took the position of danger and responsibility; he placed himself at the head of those who were contending for the constitutional rights and liberties of England, and nobly did he sustain his position. His character may well be studied. It is a model for the gentleman, the scholar, the statesman, the patriot and the noble and disinterested man. His firm spirit and high sense of justice could not see the laws and chartered rights of his country trampled upon by a tyrannical and perfidious sovereign without nobly exposing his person, his fortune and his life in their defence. He was the more moderate of his party, and the most disinterested of all who thought of opposition to Charles the First. But no sooner did he hear that the great privilege of an English Commoner, that of granting supplies, was to be taken from him, and taxes levied in the shape of ship money, than he determined not to pay those taxes, however trifling his share of them might be. Unfortunately for his country, unfortunately for English liberty and the cause of humanity, he fell in the first skirmish which took place between the King and his Parliament. For purity of purpose, devotion to the principles of constitutional liberty, high and unflinching firmness in defence of those principles, he has had but one equal; that was Washington; and like Washington, his public career is faultless. Well may he be taken as the patriot model.

The character of the Earl of Chatham, the great Commoner of England, is that of a proud patriot, possessed of all the greatness of a bold and fearless statesman, brilliant and overpowering in his eloquence, but with none of the simplicity of true greatness. Every

thing which he did, every word which he uttered, was done for effect. He was, indeed, as his critics have said of him, a stage actor. His whole life was a piece of acting, but it was noble, brilliant and dazzling. He was, however, a pure patriot, incorruptible, and if ambitious of power, it was only for the purpose of serving his country more effectually.

The eloquence of Chatham was of the highest order. The speaking of no man perhaps ever produced a more grand effect on his audience. His denunciations, his sarcasm, his scorn, were terrible and overpowering. Much, however, of the effect which his speeches produced, was no doubt owing to his manner. He spoke to a few hundred persons and not to the English nation. His speeches were not to be reported, and therefore his only care was about their immediate effect. He believed with the great Athenian orator, that action was everything where a speech was only to be heard. But action is nothing when the speech is to be read, and all speeches are now made with that view. There can be no doubt that this fact has had a most fatal effect on modern eloquence. No longer do we witness in the halls of legislation the fire and energy of Demosthenes or the thunder and lightning of Chatham. In their places, we have a cold and verbose eloquence which, instead of firing up and carrying off the feelings of the audience, only tends to make them more dull and lethargic.

The difference between listening to a speech and reading it cannot be better illustrated than by reference to the speeches of Edmund Burke and Patrick Henry. The English language does not afford speeches more profound, more philosophic, more brilliant or more eloquent than those of Burke. His style is indeed rich and magnificently ornate, but the statue is worthy of the drapery. His argument and illustrations are as able and as beautiful as his language is ornamental. Whilst reading his speeches, we know not whether

most to admire, his profound reasoning or his rich and gorgeous style. One would suppose from reading these speeches that the eloquence of such an orator would have been irresistible and overpowering—that the stillness of death would have prevailed whilst one of them was being delivered in the House of Commons, and that crowds would have gathered from all parts of the great metropolis of England to hear them. But how different was the fact. Burke could never get a respectable audience to listen to one of his speeches. The announcement of his intention to speak was literally a clearing of the House. Even friendship and respect for the speaker could not induce many to bear the infliction of his dullness. One of his speeches, that on American taxation, was said to be so dull that an intimate friend could not endure its delivery, but sneaked out of the House of Commons under tables and benches to prevent being seen. The next morning, however, when that speech was reported in the London papers, this friend not only read it, but wore out the newspaper in reading it over and over again.

How different are the speeches of Patrick Henry. The thrill of his eloquence has become traditionary in Virginia, and yet tradition cannot tell us what he said. The effect is remembered, and has been repeated from father to son, but the words were forgotten as well as the sentiment or idea expressed. His powers as an orator were, however, irresistible. No one ever thought of leaving the Virginia House of Burgesses whilst Patrick Henry was speaking. Nor did his audience think of anything else whilst he was speaking, except what fell from his lips. He held them spell-bound, physically and mentally. Their thoughts, their reason, their judgment, and their feelings were all, for the time being, surrendered to him, and he made them think, feel and act as he pleased.

Fortunately for the fame of his eloquence few of his speeches have been handed down to us. Those that we

have, and some of them were regarded as his greatest efforts, are so destitute of all the essentials of great speaking and eloquence, that they would do no credit to a school boy. Whilst reading them we naturally inquire of ourselves whether it is possible such speeches could have come from the Virginia Demosthenes; and above all, whether they could have produced the wonderful effects they did on the people of Virginia.

In the Virginia debates on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, we have the speeches of Patrick Henry, Chief Justice Marshall and James Madison, thrown side by side. Henry was incomparably the most eloquent of the three, if we judge from the reputation they have left behind them. But it will not do to compare their written speeches. We had as well think of instituting a comparison between the efforts of a young Sophomore and those of a profound statesman and orator.

We have few of the speeches of Lord Chatham. Those that we have are more the speeches of Johnson and the other reporters than they are of Chatham. None of his speeches were written out by himself, or even corrected by him. They must, therefore, be badly reported; but after making these just allowances they fall very far short of his reputation as an eloquent and powerful debater. It is said that Lord Chatham was nothing in reply—that he did not care for the last word in debate, which was always a matter of so much importance to his great rival, Lord Holland. Like Demosthenes, he could say nothing unless he had thought beforehand on the subject.

This trait in the character of certain great orators deserves our serious consideration. It is said that Demosthenes never could be induced to take a part in any discussion without previous preparation. When called on by the Athenians to reply to some one who had spoken, he kept his seat, and could not be induced to speak. But Demosthenes was a mere orator. He

was not, like Cicero, an accomplished scholar and profound statesman—a man of great learning and science. Hence the reluctance which he had to speaking without preparation. It is idle to suppose that any one can speak well on a subject which he has not thought of and studied at some period of his life. And, on the contrary, it is an easy matter for any one to speak on a subject familiar to his mind, and which he thoroughly comprehends. Nothing can be more erroneous than the idea that some men are more eloquent without any preparation at all. If they have been eloquent on the spur of the occasion, it is always owing to the fact that the subject has long occupied their thoughts and feelings. If they had not studied the subject of their speech the day before, they had the year before, or at some previous time.

It was thought of Sheridan, that many of his most magnificent bursts of eloquence were *impromptus*—that they were made extempore, and without previous thought or preparation. But instead of this having been the case, it was afterwards discovered that he had written out at length all of those eloquent speeches which seemed to have been the production of the moment. He had, however, studiously concealed his labor and preparation from his associates. Such, too, will be found to be the case with all ready and eloquent speakers. It is a mistake to suppose that any one can be great without an effort—and equally mistaken is the notion that any one can be eloquent without study.

Eloquence and liberty are congenial. They have always flourished together. The one cannot exist without the other. And the world knows nothing of eloquence, except as it existed in Greece and Rome, and still exists in England and America. The French nation never produced an orator until the spirit of liberty burst asunder the chains which had so long enslaved that people. The first germs of French eloquence are to be found in their Revolutionary assembly.

Mirabeau is, perhaps, the first Frenchman who deserves the name of an orator, and he was by far the greatest, as well as the first. His eloquence was of the most powerful and commanding order. He governed the National Assembly from the time he first took his seat in it to the day of his death, with absolute power. He was a man of great talents, great boldness, commanding person and huge, hideous, though intellectual head and face. He was a nobleman by birth, but had been rejected by his own order in the elections. He then became the representative of the people, and swore vengeance against that nobility from whose confidence and society he had been expelled. During this stormy period of French history there arose many orators and eloquent men. They disappeared, however, as soon as the tyranny of Robespierre had gained the ascendancy.

On the accession of Napoleon to power, he soon suppressed what little of eloquence had again sprung up in the French Chamber of Deputies. But he was the great and munificent patron of literature, the arts and sciences. And how different is the spirit of literature from that of eloquence. The one seems as naturally to seek the quiet and stillness of despotism as the other does the rough and stormy violence of liberty.

In the existence of great men there is one thing remarkable. If we look into ancient and modern history we shall see that most great men have existed in clusters. They have seldom appeared solitary and alone, but have always had cotemporaries and associates in their greatness. Homer and Hesiod, the most ancient of poets, and still the most remarkable, were supposed to have lived about the same time. Herodotus, the father of History, was the cotemporary of Thucydides and Xenophon, two of the most beautiful of ancient historians. Sophocles, Euripides and Æschylus, the most distinguished dramatic poets of Greece, flourished about the same era. In philosophy, there were living at the same time, Socrates and Plato—the tutor and pupil

teaching the immortality of the soul, and inculcating the sublimest principles of morality and virtue. Demosthenes flourished with many orators, Lysias, Isocrates and others, who would have been more conspicuous but for his own great and overshadowing eloquence. He was also the cotemporary of Aristotle, the most distinguished of ancient philosophers. And Aristotle was the friend and tutor of Alexander, the greatest captain and conqueror of antiquity. Themistocles, Aristides and Alcibiades, the most eminent of Grecian statesmen, were all cotemporaries and rivals.

If we examine Roman and English history we shall find the coincidences of greatness at particular eras equally as remarkable. Cicero, the greatest of Roman orators, was the cotemporary of Julius Cæsar, the greatest of Roman generals. The Augustan age of Rome was distinguished by a galaxy of great names—great in everything but eloquence. The capital and mistress of the world had then lost too much of the spirit of liberty for eloquence to flourish within her walls. But she was great in literature, science, refinement and civilization. Horace and Virgil at this period lived, and wrote their immortal poems. Many others might be mentioned.

In England, I have already referred to the age of Queen Elizabeth, when Lord Bacon, Sir Edward Coke, the Cecils, Sir Walter Raleigh, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson and others, almost equally illustrious, lived and flourished. I have also spoken of another period of English history which produced the Earl of Chatham, Dr. Samuel Johnson, Edmund Burke and Lord Holland. Charles James Fox, who has been called the Demosthenes of England, and William Pitt, the great statesman, who became Prime Minister of England at the age of twenty-four, were the sons of Lord Holland and the Earl of Chatham, and may be referred to the same age. Dr. Oliver Goldsmith was also their cotemporary, than whom the world has pro-

duced few poets more beautiful, or prose writers more elegantly simple and natural. About the same era there lived Burns, the immortal ploughman of Ayrshire and poet of Scotland. The age of Queen Anne is another period in English history, bright with a galaxy of illustrious names. Addison, Pope, Swift and Steele were amongst those who adorned and elevated the literature of England at that time.

If we were to examine the histories of France, Germany, Italy and Spain, we should find coincidences equally as remarkable. The history of America, too, would afford many instances. I will mention one. It is near us. The District of Abbeville has produced *four men*, who are now living, and one of whom would be enough to have immortalized an age or a nation. The proudest period of Roman greatness would have been adorned by such a man as Langdon Cheves. For greatness of intellect, profound wisdom, boldness and purity of purpose, he has no superior. He has discharged the duties of every station which he has filled with an ability which has never been surpassed. As a Judge, he was learned and profound; as a member of Congress he displayed great wisdom, and an industry and ability which have been seldom equalled; as a financier, at the head of the great banking institution of the country, he evinced a boldness, a sagacity and wisdom which have never been surpassed. The honor of his birth is due to Abbeville District—the city of Charleston, however, claims the double honor of having distinguished, and been distinguished by him.

John C. Calhoun, as every one knows, owes his birth to this District. Had he been born in England, instead of the United States, he would have graced the brightest period of her history. As an orator and parliamentary debater, he would have ranked with the Foxes and Pitts. As a man of genius and a brilliant statesman, he would not have been surpassed by the proudest names of which England can boast. In private life he

has always sustained a character pure and spotless. His career in Congress was a most brilliant one. He entered the House of Representatives a very young man, immediately preceding the declaration of war, and his devotion to business, united with his genius and ability, soon placed him at the head of that body, filled, as it was, by the greatest men the country afforded.

General McDuffie, though not a native of Abbeville District, was educated and brought up in it, and now resides here, after having long represented the District in Congress with distinguished honor to himself and country. As an orator, his bold and fearless eloquence at the bar, in the House of Representatives, and in the Senate of the United States, has placed him amongst the most distinguished speakers of this or any other age. For many years he had no equal, no rival in the halls of Congress. He stood, as it were, alone, the master spirit of that great assembly, towering far above his compeers and associates.

James L. Petigru is a native of Abbeville District. He is known only as a lawyer, and an upright, pure and noble-hearted man. Like Sir Samuel Romily, he has devoted himself to his profession, and in learning and ability he is surpassed by no one, either in the United States or England. The resemblance between him and Romily is not altogether professional. There are many traits in their characters strikingly similar. They were both of French descent, and rose from the humbler walks of life. There is a simplicity, a benevolence and a pureness in the character of both which we seldom meet with. They were both devoted to their profession, and cared not to mingle in public affairs. Like the great English lawyer, Mr. Petigru is the admiration of his friends and associates.

There are many others, natives of Abbeville District, who might be named, filling high places in this and other States. When we see such a cluster of great men, all springing from one District, at one and the same

time, well may that District claim to be the Athens of South Carolina. Well may she, like the Roman matron, when asked for her jewels, point to her sons.

But Abbeville has now given another claim to this distinction. She has not only sent forth her sons, like the proud city of Greece, to fill the highest offices within her own and the neighboring States and the Confederation, and to receive the highest and noblest honors which their country can bestow, but she has now erected a College, where her sons, and the sons of her neighboring Districts, and the adjoining States, may reap the advantages of a thorough and complete education. No higher evidence can be given of the virtue, intelligence and intellectual attainments of any people, than the establishment of schools and colleges. Nor can any stronger guarantee be offered that a people will remain wise and virtuous.

The founders and patrons of Erskine College will long receive the gratitude and thanks of the country. Their sagacity and wisdom were shown in the location of this institution. It too frequently happens that where schools and colleges are founded in towns and cities, the temptations to dissipation and extravagance are so great that it may well be questioned whether the students derive more of benefit or injury from their collegiate course. Here they are removed from all such temptations, and their only pride and ambition must be to excel each other in their studies. The foppery and frippery of dress cannot excite their jealousy or rivalry.

The students of this institution will go hence, with their minds imbued with the great principles of science and literature, virtue and religion. These are the foundation on which their future happiness, fame and prosperity must depend. From other similar institutions, surrounded with all the fascinations of vice and extravagance, it too often happens that the student carries with him into the world, feelings, principles and habits, there contracted, which prove his ruin and

destruction. The fond parent, instead of being proud of him, for his virtues and attainments, will have to repent in pain and sorrow, the disgrace and misery which their love and kindness have brought upon one of their own offspring.

GENTLEMEN OF THE "PHILOMATHEAN SOCIETY:" I have the pleasure of distributing amongst you the honors which your talents, industry and good behavior have won for you. Here they are—take them, as the just rewards of your merit—but do not look upon them as filling the measure of your fame and usefulness. Instead of having passed through the labors of your life, you are now only on the verge of them. Your education, instead of being finished has only commenced. The foundation is laid, nothing more. You are to build hereafter the superstructure. If you have been heretofore industrious, you must still be more so, as you advance in life, and your cares and responsibilities increase. Do not flatter yourselves with the belief that this life is one of ease and pleasure. We were placed here by an all-wise Being for higher and nobler purposes than the mere enjoyment of idle pleasures.

Let me entreat you, gentlemen, by all that can endear you to life, to apply yourselves at once to your different professions and pursuits. Enter on the study of them immediately, and steadily persevere in them, as long as you live. Never permit yourselves to be disheartened, or to hesitate in your onward course. Industry and prudence, honor and integrity, will never fail to crown your exertions with success.

You were told by the learned, eloquent and pious Judge who addressed you on your last anniversary, that the end and aim of all our exertions was *happiness*. Let me tell you that idleness and happiness can never exist together—I care not how much of wealth, luxury and splendor may surround you, if you wish to be happy, you must not be idle. It was intended by the Creator

of all things that we should all labor. By the sweat of his brow man is to gain his livelihood.

If you select one of the learned professions for a pursuit in life, you must not do so under the impression that it will not be necessary for you to labor. Your life, on the contrary, if you aspire to any of the honors and distinctions of your profession, will be one of endless labor. And whilst you are pursuing your studies or profession, let me beseech you to avoid all temptations which may be thrown in your way. Avoid all bad company, all evil or idle associates as you would shun vice itself. You will very often meet with persons high in life, surrounded by wealth and fame, who are idle and vicious. Shun them and their society as you would a pestilence. By your associates are you known, and every one of you must rise or fall to the level of the company you keep.

The next danger I would caution you against, is that of giving way to your passions of anger and resentment. Be slow unto wrath, is the command of our holy and blessed religion. Never cease to bear in mind that it is more magnanimous to forgive than to resent an injury. True courage is more often tested by the one than the other. A coward is very often tempted to resent some insult or imaginary grievance, whilst a brave man only, has courage to forgive or pass it by unnoticed. Be sure that you are always right, and no circumstance can then force you into any personal altercation with your fellow-man.

The painful and agonizing event which has so recently cast a melancholy gloom over the walls of this institution, and filled your hearts with the bitterest pangs of sorrow and mourning, should be an awful warning to you through life, to restrain your feelings and govern your passions. In a moment of thoughtless excitement and passion, caused by some trivial and unimportant consideration, a fellow-student, filled with high hopes and expectations, has fallen by the hand of his College com-

panion, who, perhaps, had never entertained towards him any other than feelings of kindness and love. How forcibly does this sad and painful catastrophe illustrate to us the truth of the remark, that when passion rules, reason is dethroned — we are no longer masters of ourselves.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me impress on you, as you are about to leave this institution, to carry with you and treasure up in perpetual remembrance, those great principles of virtue, morality and religion, which have been taught you by your learned President and Professors. If you are disposed to regard your happiness and prosperity in this life, and your future welfare in a world to come, these are the lessons to which your minds will most often revert, and which will be the last to depart from your memories. You have been long associated as companions and friends. Let me assure you that early friendships, like early lessons of piety and religion, are the most permanent. You are now going to separate, perhaps forever. In all human probability, your destinies may be cast in different and distant countries. You may never meet again in this world—but let this be your bond of union and sympathy: At night, when you have offered up your prayers to God, and in the morning, when you have returned your thanks for your preservation during the past night, let your thoughts revert to your *Alma Mater*, and her lessons of wisdom and religion, which were taught you all in common. Go, prosper and be happy. My earnest and fervent prayers go with you.

SPEECH

Delivered in the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES of South Carolina, December 11, 1850, on a number of Propositions referred to the Committee of the Whole on the State and Federal Affairs.

[This Speech GOVERNOR PERRY said he left "as a legacy to his country and his children."]

MR. CHAIRMAN:—I desire to say a few words in explanation of the Resolutions which I had the honor to submit to the House, and which are now before the Committee.

We have been told, Mr. Chairman, by every member who has addressed the Committee, that South Carolina is on the eve of a revolution, that her grievances and oppressions, at the hands of the Federal Government, are such that a free people can no longer submit to them; and that she is bound in honor, and by every consideration of duty and interest, to herself and the other Southern States, to dissolve the Union, and resume her sovereignty as an independent State. These, sir, are grave and momentous questions, and should be coolly, calmly, and dispassionately considered. No one, I am sure, desires the hasty or precipitate action of the State, on matters of such vast importance, involving her existence as a member of the Confederacy, and perhaps the principles of liberty throughout the world.

On these questions, Mr. Chairman, every true son of Carolina should speak forth his feelings—the convictions of his judgment. He should do so honestly and boldly, without regard to motives of selfishness or ambition. If he differs from the majority he may suggest difficulties which will prompt to greater caution and prudence on the part of those who are steering the ship

of State through this terrible storm. We must consider on the one hand that the oppressions and unjust exactions of a government should be resisted, or they will end in despotism; and on the other hand, we must remember that the ball of revolution, when once put in motion, seldom stops at the bidding of those who start it.

Whilst I differ, sir, with those around me in regard to the true policy of South Carolina, I yield to none of her sons in my readiness and willingness to defend her interests and her honor. There is no tie which binds a man to his native State that I do not feel for Carolina. Here, sir, I was born and brought up. Here I have lived, and here I expect to die. Here, too, repose the remains of my ancestors, and here I desire my children to take root and grow. Never have I entertained for one moment the thought or purpose of leaving this my native land. There are a thousand associations in my mind, connected with her mountains and hills, her seaboard and her plains, which I never can abandon. I live in her bosom, and have been cherished by her kindness, and with her, sir, I prosper or perish.

If I aspired to office or honor, it should be in South Carolina. I desire nothing and could get nothing from the Federal Government. And I know, sir, full well, that I cut off all hope of promotion in this State by the course I am now pursuing. Still, sir, I shall pursue it "for my country's good." I should lose my own self-respect if I were to yield to a popular current, no matter how strong, which I believed to be as fatal to my country as the one now sweeping over South Carolina. I will resist it as long as I can, though I may stand alone in the State.

I am not ignorant of, or insensible to, the wrongs and injuries inflicted by the Federal Government on the Southern States. They commenced many years since with a high and onerous tariff of protection, for the express benefit of one section of the country at the expense of another. Then came a grand and stupen-

dous system of internal improvements, to spend the money raised by these high duties, and enrich the North and West. A National Bank was a part of the same scheme for making the South dependent, in all her commercial arrangements, on the North. But this whole American system has been broken down. The Bank went overboard under the administration of General Jackson, and so did internal improvements. The downfall of the tariff and the triumph of free trade were the crowning glory of Mr. Polk's brilliant administration. The prodigal distribution of the public lands, and the odious and revolting principles of the Wilmot Proviso were next attempted.

Nor am I unmindful, Mr. Chairman, of the indignities and insults of the Northern people, and their utter disregard of constitutional guarantees. And I am ready, sir, and ever have been, to defend, at any and every hazard, the rights of the South. But I am disposed to defend them prudently, wisely, and successfully. I am unwilling to see South Carolina pursue a course which must inevitably prove disastrous to her, and ruinous to the cause of the South. Whilst I shall defend, at any and every hazard, the rights of the South and the honor of Carolina, I am also disposed, if possible, to preserve the Union of the States.

Whilst I feel conscious of the sincerity of my own heart, far be it from me to impugn the motives or conduct of others. They are doubtless as honest and as patriotic as myself. We differ as widely as the poles are asunder; but it is a difference of judgment, in pursuit of the same object—the honor, happiness, and prosperity of our State. They are for disunion, *per se*, independent of the late legislation on the part of Congress. They believe that the honor, happiness, and prosperity of the South would be promoted by a dissolution of the Union. I do not. I may, however, be in error. So may they. We are all liable to go wrong. I have been taught, sir, from my infancy, by the writings of one

whose purity was never doubted, and whose judgment never failed, that the Union was the great palladium of our liberty, independence, safety and prosperity, and that we should cherish a constant, cordial and immovable attachment to it.

I do, Mr. Chairman, venerate this Union, and am disposed to hold on to it until dishonor or oppression force me, as a Southern man, to break it asunder. I look with feelings of horror on the happening of that event which no language can describe. But when it does come I shall be disposed to do my duty. As much as I love the Union, I love the South and her institutions still more, and I will defend them more cheerfully, more readily. I am not, however, disposed to be laughed out of my admiration of the Union by those who affect to despise and spurn its glories. Let me ask if there is nothing glorious in its formation and history—in the battles which achieved it, and the heroes who fought them? Who can contemplate a few thousand men scattered over a vast continent, rising up in the majesty of strength and power, to defend themselves against the most powerful monarchy of Europe, and say there is nothing of glory in this Union? Who can look at the battle-fields of the Revolution, drenched as they were with the blood of Northern and Southern men, and say there is nothing glorious in them? Who can read in history the characters and achievements of Washington, Franklin, Hancock and Rutledge, and deny that they filled this Union with glory? Who will look at the progress these United States have made in human happiness and prosperity, and in all the moral grandeur of a great nation, without admitting that this has been a glorious Union? Where are the battles fought and the conquests made by our officers in Mexico? Is there nothing of glory in all these? And when the Union is dissolved, how shall all this glory be portioned out between the North and the South? Franklin and War-

ren, Hancock and Adams, will no longer be countrymen of ours!

Mr. Chairman, the sun has never shone on a people, in ancient or modern times, who have prospered and flourished and grown great as the American people have since the formation of this Union. From three millions they have increased to twenty-five millions in little more than half of a century. From thirteen States they have grown to thirty-one. In extent of territory they have spread from five hundred thousand square miles to two millions of square miles. The forests have disappeared before their footsteps, and towns and villages have sprung up as if by magic. In all the arts and sciences and literature of the world they are behind no people of their age. No country on earth enjoys the same civil and religious liberty. Instead of making war on their fellow-men, they have made war, as has been said by a distinguished Frenchman, against the forests and wild beasts.

It will not do, Mr. Chairman, to break up a government every time it goes wrong. No government could last five years on any such principle. Nor will it answer for a people to separate from each other whenever an opposing interest springs up between them. Such a course would produce division after division, until every neighborhood and every family would stand forth an independent and separate nation.

It has been said, sir, that the South knows the Federal Government only by its exactions and oppressions, and that she has never received benefits or advantages from its power and influence. This, sir, is a great error, and a total error. The whole history of our country proves it. In many instances of the highest importance and greatest moment, the policy of the United States has been in favor of the South. There is the purchase of Louisiana, a country larger than one-half of the kingdoms of Europe. This immense country was added to the United States as a slave territory. It was pur-

chased for the benefit of the South and Southwest. The purchase was made by the Union and paid for by the Union. In consequence of this purchase, slavery has been extended over several new States. Was there no concession to the Southern States, no benefit conferred on them by this vast accession of territory? Where has there ever been such a boon conferred by the Federal Government on the Northern States?

There, too, is the purchase of the Floridas, a slave-holding country, with climate and soil admirably adapted to the institution of slavery. This beautiful country, large enough to make a half-dozen New England States, was purchased and paid for like Louisiana, with the money of the Federal Government, raised at the North as well as the South. In the possession of Spain it was a thorn in the side of the Southern States, a refuge for runaway slaves, a home for hostile Indians, and inhabited by unprincipled traders from all parts of the world, who were constantly furnishing the Seminole and Creek Indians with arms and ammunition to make war on the people of Georgia and other Southern States. Can any one say that this was not a boon to the South. But for the Union, neither Louisiana nor the Floridas could have been obtained from the French and Spanish Governments.

There are the Indian wars on the Southern frontier for the protection of the Southern people, at a cost to the Federal Government of near two hundred millions of dollars. This is surely feeling the power and influence of the Union, not by its exactions and oppressions, but by its care, protection and liberality. These Indian wars were not only waged for the protection of the South, but have resulted in the entire removal of the Indians from the Southern States at a very heavy expense to the Federal Government.

The last war with Great Britain was a great Southern measure, carried through Congress by as noble a band of Southern men as ever united in sustaining the honor and

glory of their country. It was opposed, and shamefully opposed, by a portion of the Northern States, because it prostrated their commerce, and destroyed their shipping interest. All the expenses of this war, and they were not light, were borne by the Government at the instance of the South, and to the gratification and glory of the South.

Then came, sir, in this enumeration of important advantages and accessions to the South, the annexation of the Republic of Texas, a country much larger than all New England put together. This vast and fertile region, with a climate unsurpassed, and wonderfully adapted to the supply of all the wants of man, and all the luxuries of life, was admitted into the Union as a slaveholding territory not more than six or seven years since. It was provided, too, in the act of annexation, that three or four additional slave States should be carved out of it. Does this look like a fixed and settled purpose on the part of the Federal Government to abolish and destroy the institution of slavery? Was it not a boon to the South of inestimable value, so far as slavery is concerned?

With the annexation of Texas came as a necessary consequence, the Mexican war. This war, as well as the annexation, was a Southern measure, and bitterly opposed by a portion of the Northern people. It has crowned the American arms with imperishable glory, and illustrated our history with a series of brilliant victories, not surpassed in ancient or modern conquests. A peace with Mexico was ultimately conquered, and another vast accession of territory added to the Union. The immense territories of Utah and New Mexico, broad enough to make a dozen States, are thrown open to slavery, as I shall hereafter show. California alone, of all our conquests, purchases and annexations, has become a non-slaveholding country; and this was done by people inhabiting that country, and not by the North or Congress. Whether California would have become a slaveholding State if she had remained, as she ought to have done, some years

longer as a territory, is a matter of doubt. Both of the Senators, and one of the two Representatives from California, are Southern men. A large number of the members of the Convention which formed the State Constitution of California were emigrants from slaveholding States. The probability is, that if California had continued a territory twenty-five years longer, the influx of population from the Northern States and Europe would have been in a still greater disproportion to that from the Southern States. The admission or exclusion of slavery would, at least, have depended on the interests and adaptation of the country.

Now, Mr. Chairman, does all this acquisition of territory manifest that illiberal and vindictive spirit on the part of the North and the Federal Government, towards the South and the institution of slavery, which we are constantly told exists in the Northern States and in Congress? Or does it prove the reverse to be true, and that the Northern people have had sagacity enough to perceive that whilst they are liberal to the South in the purchases and acquisitions, they were pursuing their own interests as Americans—New Englanders—as manufacturers and merchants? They were opening a wider field and a richer market for their commerce and manufactures. That opposing interest between the North and South which has been alluded to as containing the germ of disunion, I have always looked upon as a bond of Union. It necessarily creates a mutual dependence between the two sections.

But, Mr. Chairman, in all these accessions of territory for the benefit of the South, and all these wars waged for the protection and to the glory of the South, the slaveholding States were united. By their union, with the assistance of the democracy of the North, they have always been able to control the Federal Government. I remember to have heard Mr. Calhoun say, not many years before his death, that the South always had and always would control the government when united.

This is abundantly shown in our past history. When the Federal Government went into operation under the administration of General Washington, the South was united. Under the administration of the elder Adams, the South was divided, and the power and influence of the government were wielded by the North. The South became united again and took the control of the Government under the administrations of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. By the union of the North and the West under the administration of John Q. Adams, and the division of the South, the control of the Government once more departed from the slaveholding States. It was restored to you by the election of General Jackson, but again the South divided, and a portion of the Southern States was arrayed in opposition to his administration. The power of the Government went over now to the North, and from that day to this we have been divided into whigs and democrats throughout the Southern States. This division has encouraged and caused all the encroachments which have been made on our constitutional rights and the equality of the States.

Since the formation of the Federal Government the Southern States have given to the Union nine Presidents out of thirteen, and have had a very large proportion of all the important Federal offices. Three-fourths of this time the South has been in power, and had the control of the Government. Does this look like knowing the Government by its exactions and oppressions only? It is true that whilst the high offices have been filled by Southern men, and the Federal power and patronage under the control of the South, the expenditures of money have been mostly in the Northern States. This is owing to a variety of causes, and no doubt a most powerful one is the eagerness of the Northern people to get money, whilst the Southern people are thinking of office and distinction. But the situation and different pursuits of the two sections of country have influenced these appropriations in a great measure. They have at the

North a more dense population ; they are a commercial and manufacturing people, and have better and more extensive ports and harbors than we have in the Southern States. They are a mechanical people, and build all our shipping. The Southern people are planters and farmers, and have not directed their attention and wealth to these Northern pursuits.

But, Mr. Chairman, shall we dissolve this Union because we cannot always control the Federal Government, and the appropriation and expenditure of its revenues ? Shall we dissolve the Union because we are not a commercial and manufacturing people, and have to call to our aid the skill, energy, and enterprise of Northern men to build our ships and man them, to import our goods and furnish all the machinery and manufactures which we, or the Federal Government may need in peace and in war ? Shall we dissolve the Union because by divisions amongst ourselves we permit the power and patronage of the Government to depart from the South ? Had we not better change our policy, and manufacture our own supplies, import our own goods, and build our own ships, and man them with Southern men ? Had we not better be united amongst ourselves, and devote more of our energy and talents to the improvement and developing the vast resources and hidden wealth of the Southern States ?

Shall we dissolve the Union, Mr. Chairman, on account of the present depressed condition of the Southern States, or of the United States ? Was there ever a country more prosperous and flourishing than the United States are at this time—South, North, East, and West ? Shall we dissolve the Union on account of those Federal measures : the tariff, internal improvements, and the bank, of which we complained so bitterly some years since. They have been broken down and abandoned by the Government. You thought then, as you think now, that nothing but disunion was a remedy for our evils and the exactions of the Federal Government. But

truth and justice and the constitution prevailed, and they will prevail again, and must always prevail. Our wrongs will be and must be redressed, and our rights secured and maintained.

Shall we dissolve this Union on account of slavery? Is that institution in danger, and can it be saved or placed on a better footing by a separation between the North and the South? Never since the formation of the Union has slavery been safer, stronger, more valuable, more extensive, or more numerous. When the Union was formed, slavery existed in twelve States, and now there are fifteen slave States. These fifteen States cover an area of country twice or three times as large as the twelve did. At the formation of the Union, there were perhaps not more than half a million of slaves in the United States. Now there are three millions and a half. When this Union was formed slaves were worth about three hundred and fifty dollars, not more. But now they sell for eight hundred and a thousand dollars. I saw an account of the sale of some slaves in Charleston the other day, which ranged from one thousand to twenty-five hundred dollars per head. Thirty years since the Southern people looked upon slavery as an evil, which the country would some day remove. Now we have looked more into our title, we are better satisfied with it, and regard slavery as a blessing to both master and slave, and are resolved that the institution shall remain amongst us.

The very aggressions of the North, Mr. Chairman, have tended to strengthen the institution of slavery in the Southern States. But for these aggressions, the fanatical spirit of emancipation might have gone on in Kentucky, Maryland and Virginia. Forty years since Mr. Clay introduced a bill in the Kentucky Legislature to effect gradually the emancipation of the slave. It received great favor, and met no very decided opposition. But the Convention of Kentucky have recently declared unanimously that slavery should be continued.

Twenty years ago the subject of emancipation was gravely debated in the Virginia Legislature and in the Convention of that great Southern State. The debate which took place then, the speeches made, and the arguments used, would not now be tolerated in a slaveholding community. I can, therefore, see no just cause for apprehension.

It is said, however, that in the course of a few years there will be free States enough to alter the Federal Constitution, and give Congress the power to abolish slavery in the States! This apprehension is far-fetched, and I am surprised that any one should seriously entertain such an idea. For the last sixty years, ever since the Union was formed, Congress has had the power, the Constitutional power, according to the construction of all the Northern States, and according to the reading of Mr. Clay and many other slaveholders, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. In that district there are forty or fifty thousand inhabitants, and only two thousand slaves. And yet no serious efforts have ever been made to exercise this power, and abolish slavery in the Federal District. A bill was introduced in the Senate last session, and received seven or eight votes.

Let us suppose the Constitution altered, and that Congress should be so mad as to attempt to abolish slavery in the States, how could such a scheme be carried out? Would the act of Congress setting our slaves free be obeyed? Could it be enforced? We had as well suppose that Congress would send an army here to take from us our lands and houses. The one would be as easily accomplished as the other. But it would be exceedingly unwise to dissolve the Union under an apprehension of danger which is not likely to occur. The folly would be almost as great as for a man to cut his throat in order to keep from being killed in battle. We should not be constantly alarming ourselves as to imaginary dangers. It is enough that we are prepared to meet them when they do come.

I regard the dissolution of the Union as the most fatal blow which slavery could receive. Nothing could gratify the abolitionists more, or tend more to the accomplishment of their wicked purposes. We now have the protection of a great and powerful nation at home and abroad. We should then have a weak and petty government, incapable of defending our rights against foreign aggressions, and the sympathies of the whole civilized world against us. Our slaves, instead of stealing off separate and alone, as they now do, would go off in gangs to the North, and the frontier States would in a short time be without slaves! Restoration then would be out of the question. Now the guarantees of the Federal Constitution afford some protection.

But does any one suppose that so great a political event as the separation of these States can take place without some bloody wars ensuing? Can any one suppose that with so many incentives to war as there will be between the North and the South, the two republics can continue at peace? It is impossible, in the nature of things. The history of men and the history of nations contradict such a supposition. If war follows a dissolution of the Union, the abolitionists will have an army on our borders, or in our midst, enticing our slaves to leave us, and to arm against us! That they will leave is abundantly proven by the success of the British army in that way during our Revolutionary war. It may be that whilst we are drawn from our homes to defend our country, the incendiaries of the enemy will be stirring up a servile war in our midst! We may return from battle crowned with victory, only to witness the death and desolation of our homes and families! The scenes of the Southampton insurrection might be acted over again! The most terrible wars of Greece and Rome were their servile wars. It is said that England did once threaten us with black troops from her West India Islands in case a war should break out between her and the United States. The Northern

fanatics would not be less inclined to arm the blacks against us.

It is a mistake to suppose, as some have asserted, that slavery increases the strength of a nation in time of war. On the contrary, it weakens the resources very much. Our slaves compose the very class of persons from whom the armies of Europe and the Northern States are drawn. Instead of constituting the material of our army, we have to leave in the lower country a body of forces to keep them in subjection. And we remember, too, that a revolutionary spirit always *descends*. In time of war everything is unsettled. The great object of our State, and of all the Southern States, should be PEACE. The blessings of peace have made us what we are, protected our institutions, and elevated us to a rank amongst the nations of the earth which attracts their envy and commands their respect and admiration. If any one doubts that peace at home and abroad is our policy, let him read the great speech of Mr. Calhoun on the probability of a war between Great Britain and the United States about the Oregon territory.

I know that the South has suffered wrongs, grievous and insulting wrongs, from the North, and most unjust legislation at the hands of the Federal Government; and I am disposed to do all that man can do to redress those wrongs, insults and injuries. But I am not disposed to see South Carolina, or the Southern States, revenge themselves by *their own self-immolation*! It will not answer, as I have always said, to break up a government every time it goes wrong. We should be in a constant revolution, like the people of Mexico—a prey to foreign nations, and internal murderous strifes and commotions! Nor do I think that patriotism requires, like the honor of the duellist, that every wrong or insult should be wiped out with blood. We are a Christian people, possessing the principles of peace and forbearance, and I do not think it becomes such a people

to hastily involve their country in all the horrors of a civil war and a bloody revolution. Circumstances may occur, however, which will render such a war necessary and proper, even for a Christian people. Let us inquire if such be the present state and condition of our country.

The admission of California was a gross fraud on the rights of the South. Instead of permitting the people to go through the ordinary pupilage of a Territorial Government, preparatory for their reception into the Union as a State, they were ushered in as a sovereign at once, and for the purpose, it was supposed, of avoiding the direct application of the Wilmot Proviso to that vast territory. This wrong has been perpetrated under the Constitution, and not in violation of its principles. Although the South has been wronged and injured by this proceeding, I do not feel that she has been *dishonored*. We have always contended that a people inhabiting a Territory had a right to form such a constitution as they pleased, and that Congress had no right to refuse them admission, provided their constitution was *republican in its principles*.

But in what way should we be benefited in this respect by dissolving the Union? Would it carry slavery into that golden region? California is now a sovereign State of the Confederacy, and she cannot be excluded by an act of Congress; nor can any power on earth, save that of her own people, change or alter the principles of her constitution. Her boundary, too, is fixed, and cannot be modified or altered except with her own consent. The Missouri compromise line which was adopted by the Nashville Convention as a peace-offering, gives to the North all the gold region of California! If we sanction that line there is very little south of it worth contending for; it is said to be a country adapted only to grazing and the vine, and never can become a slave country. The gold region of California north of the Missouri line will,

in all human probability, yet become a slave country. It is difficult to perceive on what principle slavery will be kept out, if a hand can make ten and fifteen dollars per day by his labor in the mines. Every people will seek their own interest, and most persons generally have sagacity enough to perceive it. If it should hereafter appear to be the interest of California to introduce slavery, her constitution will be altered for that purpose. This may be done by a bare majority of the Legislature, sanctioned by the people; but a dissolution of the Union would, of course, prevent any such change or result.

It is a mistake to suppose that because California started wrong, and excluded slavery, she can never change her policy. As soon as the gold mines of the mountains, which are said to be the most valuable, are opened, there will be a demand for capital which is not necessary to work the deposit mines. Men of large capital will then have to engage in mining. The machinery and preparation will require capital. These capitalists will soon perceive the propriety of purchasing slaves to work their mines, instead of hiring free-men at fifteen dollars per day. A negro would pay for himself in a few weeks. The State of Illinois started as California did—a free State, the price of grain alone induced the people there to attempt to change their constitution and admit slavery. This change came very near being carried by popular vote a few years since. If the price of grain had continued as high as it was, the change would, perhaps, have been made. So it is possible for a people to change from a free to a slave State.

But California was admitted into the Union by *twenty-six Southern votes*, and only fifty-seven voting against it. These twenty-six Southern men were slaveholders and representing slave-owners in Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, and perhaps other States. Is it likely that, if this measure be so dishonor-

ing to the slave States, one-third of their Representatives would have voted for it? It is impossible. There is a difference, and a very strong and striking one, between the exclusion of slavery from a country *by the people inhabiting the country*, and by the action or legislation of Congress. The one is only providing for the wants and wishes of the community, by the people themselves, and the other is a dishonoring distinction by the General Government in favor of one portion of the people, at the expense of the other. The one is a usurpation of power, and the other is a legitimate exercise of it. The time only is objectionable.

The people of Massachusetts and all the Northern States have excluded slavery; and no Southern man feels dishonored because he cannot carry his slaves to the North, and there live with them. Nor would any man have resented the exclusion of slavery in California, if the people had waited a proper time before they organized as a State. But we must remember that no such country as California ever before existed. She contained wealth and treasures in her mountains and rivers which gave her an importance in the eyes of the world that no other country could or ever did have, and which attracted to her bosom a population outnumbering, for the same space of time, that of any other new country ever mentioned in history. This may well be regarded as some excuse for the haste in clothing California with the sovereignty of a State.

Shall we dissolve the Union on account of the adjustment of the Texan boundary? This bill was voted for by two-thirds of the Southern members of Congress. The vote was fifty-two to twenty-six from the slaveholding States. The State of Texas voted for the adjustment in both Houses, and her citizens have voted for the acceptance of this bill with great unanimity. The people of Texas had no use for the land, and were in want of the money. But there is a better reason than this for their acceptance. They had no valid title to

the territory of New Mexico. It was a claim only, resting on nothing more than the continued assertion of a right. Texas had never conquered New Mexico, never extended her laws over the people, nor had she ever a soldier on the soil unless he was in chains! When Texas was admitted into the Union, the question as to her boundary was expressly reserved for settlement between the United States and Mexico. It is a mistake to say that her boundary as claimed, and including New Mexico, was ever recognized by the General Government.

The history of this claim on the part of Texas is simply this: The people of New Mexico had been living there in little villages on the Rio del Norte, for perhaps a hundred years, as a province of Mexico. They were settled on both sides of the river. Texas, which lay five or six hundred miles below, and extended from the Sabine to the mouth of the Rio del Norte, was a wilderness, uninhabited, except by a Spanish settlement at San Antonio. The people of the United States went over into Texas and took out Spanish grants for this country, declared their independence, and asserted the boundary of their republic to the Rio del Norte, from its source to its mouth. If they had conquered the people living in New Mexico, five hundred miles above them, as they did those living at the mouth of the Rio del Norte, their title would have been a good one, *derived from the sword*. But they did no such thing, nor did they attempt any such thing.

The people of New Mexico were conquered by the American army as a province of Mexico, and held as a conquest until peace was ratified between the United States and Mexico. By that treaty New Mexico, Utah and California were all ceded to the United States as an indemnity for the war. The rights of the people inhabiting the country were secured by this treaty. They are separated from Texas, not only by the space of five hundred miles, but by a desert, over which it is difficult

to pass. It seems to me that there would be gross injustice in separating a people who had lived together so long as one province, speaking one language, guided by the same laws, and uniting those living on one bank of the Rio del Norte to a foreign people, five hundred miles off, speaking a different language, having different manners and customs, and separated by an almost impassable desert.

By the annexation of Texas to the United States, slavery was excluded from all the country north of the Missouri compromise line. Now the whole of that country is thrown open to slavery by this very act of Congress, of which so much complaint is made. It is expressly stipulated, too, that the people of New Mexico and Utah may come into the Union with or without slavery, as they shall deem most expedient, when they apply for admission as a State. But it is said that slavery is excluded from that country by the Mexican laws, which will remain of force in defiance of the Federal Constitution until repealed. This is certainly new doctrine for the South to advance. It was certainly not the doctrine of Mr. Calhoun, who showed most triumphantly that the Constitution and laws of the United States were paramount to the Mexican laws. It seems to me a species of absurdity to suppose that the laws of the people conquered shall be superior to those of the conquerors! Such was not the opinion of Southern men when the Clayton compromise was acceded to on behalf of the South. If this doctrine be correct, then the Catholic religion, which is the established religion of the Mexicans, will exclude all Protestants from the whole of that country!

If Texas had no right to this territory of New Mexico, why, then, did the United States pay her ten millions of dollars? This question is frequently asked, and with some reason. In the first place, the custom house taken by the United States from Texas was pledged to pay five millions of the Texas debt. This

is a part of the ten millions above mentioned. The other five millions were paid to extinguish a claim which had in some measure been countenanced by the course pursued on the part of the United States. It is no uncommon occurrence for a nation or an individual to compromise a claim, instead of fighting over it.

The Wilmot Proviso has been abandoned in New Mexico and Utah. This is a concession to the South—a most important one. The whole of that vast region of country, enough to make a half-dozen States, is opened to slavery. Congress has guaranteed, likewise, that these Territories may come into the Union with slavery, if the people prefer it. This concession on the part of Congress was brought about by the united action of the South; and whenever the South is united, as she was in her opposition to the Wilmot Proviso, she will be successful; and we never can be successful unless we are united. It is said, however, that this is no concession, because slavery will never go into these territories. In reply, I can only say that slavery does now exist in Utah, and that the Mormons living there do own slaves, and will probably continue to own them. But the principle has been conceded, and it was, for the principle, made a point of honor by the South, that we contended. The great battle between the North and the South commenced on the Wilmot Proviso. The North declared that no more slave territory should be admitted into the Union—the South resolved that Congress should pass no law excluding them from the Mexican territory. None such has been passed. If we are excluded by nature, and the country is not adapted to slavery, we have no cause to complain of the action of the North, or, on that account, to dissolve the Union.

The Fugitive Slave bill was likewise a concession to the South, drawn by a Southern man, and made as stringent as the most devoted Southern man could require. This is certainly some manifestation on the part of Congress and the North to carry out the guarantees of the

Federal Constitution. It is said, however, that this law will never be enforced, and that it will be repealed. Let me say that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." When that law is repealed, the death-knell of the Union will be sounded. There will be no division then of the South. All the slaveholding States will be united. This union of the slave States will prevent its repeal. I have not the slightest apprehension on this subject. It is said, too, that this law will not be enforced in the Northern States. I have no doubt that it will be evaded in many instances. All laws are. But it has already been enforced, in good faith, in several instances, and promptly enforced. The President of the United States has declared his purpose of enforcing the law.

The bill abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia I once pronounced the worst and best feature of the compromise. A distinguished Carolinian, then present, high in the confidence of his State, assented to my judgment. We both thought it was a trade which ought not to be carried on in the Federal city; and that its revolting features, as seen there, by Northern men, foreigners and foreign ministers, were prejudicial to the institution of slavery. Laws similar in many respects to that bill have been passed in almost every slave State in the Union. South Carolina has two or three times passed laws making it highly penal to bring slaves into this State to sell. Georgia made it a penitentiary offence. In Mississippi it is a part of the Constitution that the Legislature shall exclude this traffic. President Tyler, when a member of the Senate, from Virginia, introduced a similar bill, as he says in his letter to General Foote. The law does not prevent a man moving into the District of Columbia with his slaves; nor does it prevent a citizen of the District from going out of the District and purchasing slaves. He may likewise sell his slaves. The only prohibition is that slaves shall not be brought into the District of Columbia for sale. At

present they have prison pens, where negroes are sent from all parts of Maryland to sell to the Mississippi and Louisiana traders.

But the objections to the bill are that it is an entering wedge for future legislation on the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia, and that the penalty imposed is the freedom of the slave brought for sale. These are, and more especially the first, serious objections to the law, and induced me to regard it as one of the worst features of the compromise bill. It met, however, the approbation of many Southern senators and members of the House of Representatives.

In regard to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave bill, it may be a question, and a grave question of policy, whether these runaway negroes ought to be brought back into the Southern States. They are bold, daring, and intelligent fellows, or they could not have made their escape. They may prove terrible nuisances when brought back and permitted to associate with the other slaves. I have always regarded their escape as a sort of safety valve for the institution of slavery. It is a misfortune on the owner, but it may be a blessing to the community. By the laws of South Carolina no slave *carried to the North* can be brought back by his master.

If the Union should be dissolved, how many States would unite in a Southern Confederacy? It is impossible for Louisiana to separate herself from the valley of the Mississippi. She is the outlet for all that vast region of country, including one-half of the States of this Union. If Louisiana desired to go with the Southern States, she would not be permitted to do so. She is part and parcel of the great valley of the Mississippi, and must ever remain so, politically as well as physically. There is certainly very little prospect, either from present appearances or past history, of Kentucky and Tennessee uniting with us. This separates us from Missouri and Arkansas and Texas, and renders utterly hopeless all union with those States. The political leth-

argy at all times manifested by North Carolina proves that she will not unite in a Southern Confederacy unless forced by the accession of Virginia. But one-half of Virginia is now almost as alien to us as Pennsylvania. She would be a border State—certainly not an enviable position for any member of the Confederacy. Maryland is hopeless. We then have South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Florida, by necessity of her position, being cut off from all geographical connection with the old republic. The position of Mississippi renders her adhesion very questionable. In feeling she seems to be more with South Carolina at this time than any other State in the Union. But her geographical position as a member of the great valley of the Mississippi must change her allegiance as soon as the Union is severed. This will leave four States. But is it possible for these four to agree on all the articles necessary to a Southern Confederacy? I doubt very much whether Georgia and South Carolina can ever agree on anything, much less on the formation of an independent Republic. But if they were to agree and unite with Alabama and Florida, and even Mississippi, what sort of a nation would we be in the eyes of Europe and the rest of the world?

But it is said that South Carolina must put the ball in motion, and secede from the Federal Union, and that the other cotton States will rally to her rescue. Did she not try this same project in 1832 of putting the ball in motion, and which one of the States came to her assistance? None expressed even a sympathy for her, but all gave her the cold shoulder. Two-thirds of Georgia at this time are opposed to the action of South Carolina. So is unquestionably a majority of Alabama and Florida. But it is said that although these States may not assist us as States, yet a large minority of their citizens will rally to the rescue of South Carolina. But is that the sort of material that we want to carry on a war with the Federal Government? These patriotic

and spirited citizens would be an incumbrance and nothing more—unless they brought with them money, arms, ammunition and all the material of war. I suppose South Carolina could raise a much larger force than she could support three months in the service. Every man in the State would have to give up a large portion of his property to support the war five years, or three years. We should, in our present condition, have to send to the enemy, that is, the Northern States, for the material necessary to a war.

If any one supposes the Federal Government will stand aloof and permit South Carolina peaceably to secede from the Union, he is certainly a most sanguine and hopeful patriot, and must think that a great change has come over the nation since the days of Andrew Jackson. Not three months since President Fillmore, in pretty plain terms, announced his purpose to whip Texas into what he supposed to be her duty. In regard to South Carolina, she would be checked-mated before there was a possibility of her making the second move. One ship would blockade the whole port of Charleston, and enforce the payment of duties on board the vessel under what is known as the Force Bill. The mail arrangements all broken up, the commerce of Charleston all thrown to Savannah and Wilmington, the State paying duties to a foreign government to support that government in carrying on a war against herself, her trade prostrate, and all her industrial pursuits interrupted, what would she do, or what could she do, but go back into the Federal Union!

It has been nearly twenty years since South Carolina solemnly determined in Convention, that no more duties should be paid, and that any attempt to force her was a dissolution of the Union. I opposed that movement as an impracticable one, and I now oppose this as equally unwise and perhaps more disastrous. I besought my State then to have a little patience, and all things would come right. The tariff was repealed, and

the principles of free trade have become triumphant in England as well as America. I now implore South Carolina, as a child would beseech the parent who gave him birth, to pause and reflect on what she is about to do. I entreat her to abandon all idea of separate State action. It must be disastrous to her. It is not respectful to her Southern sister States. They are as deeply interested in this matter as she is. We ought to suppose, too, that they are as intelligent, as spirited, and as patriotic as we are. If we rush ahead of them without concert of action, it will excite their jealousy and their resentment.

The course for South Carolina to pursue is plain and obvious to my mind. She should propose a Southern Congress and invite all the slaveholding States to meet her in consultation. Let the delegates to such a Congress be elected by the people, and go with the authority of the State. If any Southern State refuses to be represented in this Congress, the other States should send to her some of their able and distinguished sons to induce her to act in concert with the other Southern States. In this way a full representation of all the States aggrieved might be obtained. The South would then be united, and united, she would secure her rights and preserve the Union. If, however, disunion come, we should have a confederacy of States capable of defending themselves and maintaining their existence as a nation.

It is the imperative duty of all the Southern States to meet in a Congress, truly representing the wishes and feelings of the people. This they should do as well for their protection for the future as for indemnity for the past. They should declare a bill of rights for the slaveholding States. This would let the North and the Federal Government know what the consequences of their aggressions would be. Being forewarned by the united South, it would put a stop to this aggressive policy. The Northern people are too deeply interested

in their connection with the South to think of separating from us. They are dependent on the South for their prosperity, unrivalled as it has been, as a commercial and manufacturing people. They have a deep interest in the preservation of our institutions. The cotton which they manufacture is the product of slave labor. A large portion of their manufactures is purchased for the use of our slaves. The whole amount purchased by the South is paid for by the profits of slavery.

Nothing can be more mistaken than the policy pursued by the South in regard to their dependence on the North for almost everything consumed in the Southern States. It should be our pride and our ambition to be independent of the North in every respect. We should import our own goods and manufacture for ourselves. We should live at home, and spend our money at home, encourage our own mechanics, and refuse to trade with the North. In this way we can show our resentment and self-denial, and retaliate most effectually, without dissolving the Union or incurring the horrors of a civil war and revolution.

It is doubtful which would be most injured by emancipation, the slave himself, the Southern master, or the Northern abolitionists, engaged in commerce or manufacturing. No change could better the condition of the slave. He is happier and better provided for than he ever would be in a state of freedom and self-reliance. There are not in the world the same number of Africans so happy and so civilized as our slaves are in the Southern States. Freedom to them would be a great evil.

It is now almost universally admitted in England that emancipation in the West India Islands has been a curse to the slave, as well as an act of gross injustice to the master. This spirit of fanaticism, which first made its appearance in England, has pretty well run out. It must do so in the United States. It is not in the nature

of fanaticism to continue. It must die away and burn out. Truth alone continues, and not madness. This abolition question has doubtless had its best days in the North. The equal division of the Northern people into Whigs and Democrats gave the abolition party the balance of power, and an importance which they never otherwise could have obtained.

But the Southern people have had great exaggerations made to them on this subject. Everything has been told them by our members of Congress and by the press and public speakers, calculated to excite their feelings and rouse up their bitterest indignation and revenge. For instance, the name, the actings and doings of Seward, the abolition senator from New York, are familiar to every one; but the noble, bold, and disinterested conduct of Dickinson, his colleague in the United States Senate, is scarcely spoken of or known to the people of the South. If the runaway negroes in the North have a meeting and adopt the most fiendish resolutions, they are published in the *Southern Press*, and read at our public meetings to excite and fan the flame of disunion. If an attempt is made to catch a runaway slave and there is a failure, it is published all over the South. But we hear very little of those cases in which the slaves were recaptured.

If a Northern man comes forward and defends the South, and stands up boldly for our rights, we seem hardly to notice him, and much less to thank him and honor him. If he does not go as far on the subject of slavery as we do, we denounce him and discredit him. The consequence is that we drive off our friends at the North, and act as if we wished to produce the impression that we had none there. But a short time since there were meetings of thousands and tens of thousands in New York, Boston and Philadelphia, in favor of the rights of the South, the guarantees of the federal constitution and the Union of the States. At these meetings the most eloquent and patriotic speeches were made, but

neither the meetings, the speeches, nor the resolutions have been noticed by the Southern papers, except with a sneer of indifference and contempt. Can it be true, sir, that the whole North are united against us, when we see such men as Webster, Cass, Douglass, Buchanan, Dickinson, Woodbury, and many others of the most popular and distinguished men there, defending our Constitutional rights and the Union of the States?

I was very much surprised, Mr. Chairman, at the honorable member's speech from Charleston (Col. Memminger), who said he had rather South Carolina was attached to the government of Great Britain as she was previous to the Revolutionary War, than to remain a member of this Union! Such an expression, neither becomes an American nor a Carolinian, and must have been uttered in the heat of argument and declamation without due consideration. Does the gentleman remember the conduct of Great Britain towards all of her possessions? Has he forgotten her magnificent scheme of plunder, robbery, murder and devastation in India? Are all the atrocious wrongs and wholesale murders in Ireland by British authority wiped out of the honorable member's remembrance? Has he forgotten the recent oppressions and iron rule of England in the Canadas? Surely he remembers the emancipation of the slaves in the West India colonies of Great Britain by act of Parliament, in which body the owners were not at all represented! And this is the government, the kingly crown, to which he prefers seeing South Carolina bow down in subjection, rather than remain a member of this great and glorious confederacy of States!

How can any one utter such a sentiment with the Revolutionary history of South Carolina fresh in his reading? The capture of that proud city, which the gentleman in part represents, the plundering of her gallant citizens, their cruel imprisonment, their foul murder and butchery, should rise up in judgment against so unpatriotic a sentiment. The subjection of South Car-

olina to the military despotism of a ruthless soldiery, ravaged and desolated from the seaboard to the mountains, dishonored, and her soil drenched with the best blood of her patriot sons, should rebuke such a feeling uttered in the Capitol of the State. So entire was the subjugation of South Carolina during the Revolution, and so hopeless all prospect of regaining her liberty, that it was proposed in Congress by Mr. Madison, to treat with Great Britain and leave under her subjection the colonies of South Carolina and Georgia. This fact was mentioned to me many years since by Governor Middleton, who found amongst his father's manuscripts the notes of Mr. Madison's speech on his resolution. I have since seen the fact stated, I think, in the Madison papers. But there came a Northern man, a Northern General, who re-conquered South Carolina, and restored her to the confederacy of States. But now, a native-born Carolinian desired to restore her to the British crown, and thereby abolish her republican system of Government.

It is said, Mr. Chairman, that our situation in the Union is precisely similar, in principle, to that of our ancestors as a colony of Great Britain. But, sir, there is, in truth, no analogy whatever. The colonies were without representation in the British Parliament, and their governors and judges were appointed by the crown. The right to tax them was claimed also. The people of South Carolina are represented in Congress, and their negroes are also represented. They elect their own rulers and judges, and levy their own taxes. Three-fourths of the time, since the formation of the Union, they have belonged to that majority which has controlled and governed the whole Republic. And now it has been decreed to be their time to be in a minority. But the wheel of fortune which is constantly revolving will, in all probability, in due time place them again in the ascendancy.

In glowing language the honorable member from Charleston has compared the Northern States and England; and with proud scorn at the comparison, he tells us that England is the land of Fox and Pitt, Burke and Chatham, Shakespeare and Milton. But in the Northern States, says the gentleman, where is their Chatham? They have a Seward and Hale, and a Giddings, says the honorable member, but no Fox, Burke, or Pitt. The Northern States, sir, are in their infancy compared to Great Britain! But they have produced statesmen and orators, poets, heroes and philosophers who would not disgrace the proud fame of England herself. Where is there a name more illustrious in wisdom, usefulness and philosophy than that of Franklin? Where did there ever exist an intellect more able, more powerful than Alexander Hamilton? In English history there is not a more gallant patriot than Warren. John Hampden was not more devoted to liberty than Hancock and Adams. Everett and Story and Kent will compare with the best of England's honored names. Bancroft and Prescott are not surpassed as historians. In intellect and ability the proud Earl of Chatham was not superior to Daniel Webster.

I think, Mr. Chairman, that we do South Carolina great injustice when we attempt to derive from the Constitution her right to secede from the Union. It is, sir, a higher, nobler and more sacred right than any to be derived from paper. It is the right of revolution which belongs to every oppressed people. When she arrays herself in battle against the Federal Government, and her right to do so is demanded, I should blush to see her refer to the Constitution for the right. Far better would it be for her to answer, as the English nobleman did, when ordered by his sovereign to produce the title to his land. Instead of referring to his papers, he drew his sword and said, "*this is my title.*" The absurdity of secession as a constitutional right may be shown by one illustration. Louisiana was purchased

of France, and paid for by the United States. The possession of that territory lying at the mouth of the Mississippi was absolutely necessary to the trade and commerce of the Western States. But by the right of secession the State of Louisiana could go out of the Union the next day after she had been purchased for the express benefit of the Union. She could establish an independent government, and tax all the produce of the United States passing down the Mississippi river. The Federal Government would have for their twelve millions of dollars the consolation of knowing that they had revolutionized and set her free.

It is said by the honorable member from Charleston, that we must assert this right of secession to keep from being dealt with as traitors. I think, sir, with Judge Cheves, that where a whole people rebel, there are no traitors. No one was dealt with as a traitor during the revolutionary war. When an American, with arms in his hands, was captured or taken prisoner by the British army, he was not hung for treason, but exchanged as a prisoner of war. The example referred to by the gentleman to prove his position, is an unfortunate one.

The Monmouth rebellion was confined to one or two counties in England. The Duke of Monmouth, a vain, foolish and mean-spirited illegitimate son of Charles the Second, raised his standard, and asserted his right to the throne of James the Second. He was immediately put down and his followers dispersed. The whole affair was nothing more than an insurrection. James himself was immediately afterwards hurled from his throne by the indignation of the British people.

If South Carolina should secede from the Union, I have no idea that the Federal Government would march an army here to coerce her. A more mild and more effectual way of treating her would be pursued by the President. The custom house would be removed on board a vessel, as designated by General Hamilton, whose counsel, though now powerless, was once all pow-

erful in South Carolina. I have no idea that separate secession, if prudently opposed by the Federal Government, would cause the shedding of one drop of blood.

But, sir, we are bound in honor to co-operate with the Southern States. South Carolina went into the Nashville Convention and should abide its recommendations. It was proposed by that body to call a Southern Congress. Let this be done on the part of South Carolina by electing four delegates to represent the State, and directing each Congressional district to elect two more. In the meantime, if it is seen that any of the slaveholding States have neglected or omitted to elect delegates, it should be the duty of the Governor to send to those States some of our ablest and most distinguished men to urge on them the appointment of delegates.

I am willing, Mr. Chairman, to unite in any constitutional mode of resenting and redressing our wrongs. I am in favor of taxing Northern goods, which has been proposed in North Carolina and Virginia, and which may be done constitutionally in the hands of our own merchants. I will go for non-intercourse with those cities where this abolition agitation is kept up, and I think true patriotism would dictate such a course on the part of our merchants. I am willing for the State to give proper encouragement to manufacturing and the direct importation of goods. These measures if steadily pursued, and enforced with proper spirit and patriotism, may bring the Northern people to their senses.

I have thus spoken, Mr. Chairman, the truth, as I conceive it to be, and as my duty prompted me to speak. I may be mistaken in my views, but they are the honest and sincere convictions of my best judgment, the feelings and promptings of my heart, my devotion to the principles of liberty and the stability of government, the rights of the South, the honor, prosperity and happiness of South Carolina. I regret deeply, painfully, my separation from those with whom I have so long acted, but

I cannot exchange an honest and approving conscience for "troops of friends." I never have, I never can advise a tame submission to wrong ; but I am for a rational and successful defence by the union of the South, which will redress our wrongs, secure our rights, and preserve the Union of the States.

SPEECH OF B. F. PERRY,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

In the National Democratic Convention at Charleston, S. C., May, 1860.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—I thank you for this opportunity unanimously awarded me by the Convention, of defining my position in remaining here whilst my colleagues have seen proper to withdraw from the Convention. First, however, I have a word to say to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois, Governor Richardson, who has just taken his seat. He told us the truth, a well-known truth, when he said that the Kansas-Nebraska bill was a compromise between the Northern and Southern Democracy on the subject of slavery in the Territories. That compromise proposed to take the question of slavery from Congress and refer it to the people of the Territories under the Federal Constitution. All questions of Territorial legislation on the subject of slavery would go to the Supreme Court, and the decision of that tribunal was to be final and conclusive. This was the compromise, as has been also just stated by the honorable member from Georgia, Mr. Seward. At the time this compromise was made, the Southern Democracy had an abiding confidence of their right to carry their slaves into the Territories, which were the common property of all the States, and, moreover, they had a conviction that the Supreme Court of the United States would so decide whenever the question was properly made. With this confidence and conviction on their minds, they were willing to, and did assent to, the non-intervention of Congress as a compromise. By that compromise I am willing to stand,

and I now ask the gentleman from Illinois to carry it out in good faith, by endorsing the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case. If he and the Northern Democracy will reaffirm the Cincinnati platform, which embodied the principles of this compromise, and endorse the principles enunciated in the opinion of Chief Justice Taney in the Dred Scott decision, it will be acceptable to the Southern Democracy generally. The refusal of Judge Douglas to do this, as leader of the Northern Democracy, and his perseverance in contending for a different construction of the Nebraska-Kansas act and Cincinnati platform, has produced all the confusion and discord which now unhappily divide and distract the great Democratic party of the United States.

I am not one of those who ask for Congressional interposition on the subject of slavery in the Territories. The South has contended for years past against Congressional legislation on this subject. They have denied the right of Congress either to prohibit or legislate slavery into the Territories. The right to carry our property into the common domain of the Union is a constitutional right guaranteed to us by the Federal Constitution, and which neither Congress nor the Territorial government can deprive us of in any way whatever. Why, then, do Southern Democrats ask a slave code or Congressional interposition? It is suicidal, and we all thought so ten years ago. Then we were apprehensive that Congress would, in the formation of a Territorial government, attempt to exclude slavery as they had done on previous occasions. We felt this to be an outrage on the rights of the South. We contended that a Southern planter had the same right to carry his property into the Territories that a Northern manufacturer had to carry his. Whether the one consisted of slaves and the other of machinery made no difference. Slaves are recognized as property, not only by the laws and constitutions of the Southern States, but by the

Federal Constitution itself, in various ways and in different sections of that just and wise system of government. With great deference to the judgment and opinions of distinguished Southern Democrats, I think it is unwise and dangerous to go back and ask for Congressional intervention which we have been warring against for so many years, and have now established by compromises, platforms, the action of Congress and the decision of the Supreme Court. For one, I will abide by what has been done, and what has been agreed to be done, by the Democratic party, and I here call on my Northern Democratic friends to do the same. It will restore harmony and good feeling to the Convention, and once more unite the Democracy against the common foe—the Black Republicans—and insure a triumphant victory.

For the Northern wing of the great Democratic party I have the highest regard and profoundest respect. They have fought the battles of the South and the Constitution like gallant patriots, and have sacrificed themselves in our cause. We owe them a debt of gratitude, and Southern honor and Southern magnanimity should not hesitate to pay it by yielding to them all we can consistently with our faith and principles. I felt deeply the noble and manly appeal made to the South, the other evening, by the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. Samuels. There is neither justice nor wisdom in forcing our Northern friends to assume a position unnecessarily, which will crush them in their contest with the Black Republicans, and defeat our own hopes and expectations. We ought to give them a platform to stand on which they can defend and maintain at home, when by so doing we sacrifice no principle. We have construed the Cincinnati platform one way, and the Supreme Court of the United States has established our construction by one of the ablest opinions ever delivered by any Court. Why, then, should we be so tenacious of guarding against a different construc-

tion by words and language, which render it odious or unacceptable to the North? We shall gain nothing by it but a Black Republican victory, which may be the death-knell of the Republic.

After all, Mr. President, this question of slavery in the Territories is a mere abstraction. If climate and soil are adapted to slavery, it will go there, and if it is not, we cannot force it into the Territories. Like water, which always seeks its level, will go slavery where it is profitable, and nowhere else. If it is known or supposed that that Territory will be a free State when admitted into the Union, no Southern man will carry his slaves into the Territory to remain whilst the territorial government continues. If the soil and climate of a Territory are adapted to slavery, the institution will go there, and be protected there, without Congressional intervention, and in spite of it. Why, then, should we insist on it, at the hazard of breaking up the Democratic party? I can well see a motive on the part of disunionists, who indulge the delusive hope of separating the North from the South. But, in all truth and sincerity, I can assure such that they are under a delusion. This Union is too strong, geographically, politically and socially, ever to be dismembered whilst the Republic continues in its present advanced state of civilization and science. And I can, with the same truth and sincerity, declare to my Northern and Southern friends, that the institution of African slavery is also too strong in the Southern States ever to be assailed successfully by any power on earth. I have no alarms for the safety of slavery or the Union.

I stand before you, Mr. President, an old-fashioned Union Democrat, born and bred such, and such I have continued, consistently, without faltering or wavering in my faith, amidst the storms of secession and nullification which have swept over South Carolina. I am a Southern man in heart and feeling, and identified with the South, my birth-place, by every tie that is sacred on

earth and every interest that can bind a man to his own native soil. I love the South, and it is because I love her, and would guard her against evils which no one can foresee or foretell, that I am a Union man and a follower of Washington's faith and creed. It was as a Democrat and a Union man that I came into this Convention, determined to do all that I could to preserve the Democratic party and the Union of the States. I came here not to sow the seeds of dissension in our Democratic ranks, but to do all that I could to harmonize the discordant materials of the party. I came in good faith, as a Democrat, to remain here, and represent the Democracy of South Carolina, and abide by the actions and nomination of this Convention. In honor I feel myself so bound, and if I had entertained other feelings and other views, I should not have taken my seat in the Convention. I had confidence in the patriotism and justice of the party to which I belong. If I had not I would not have made a common cause with them. No party can be kept together unless the members are disposed to yield something. Every one cannot carry out his own views and notions of propriety and justice.

The Convention which sent me here adjourned but a few days since. In that Convention resolutions similar to those of Alabama were offered and voted down by an overwhelming majority. Another resolution was proposed and advocated with great power and ability to stand by Alabama, and it too was voted down by a large majority. I heard no one in that Convention speak of any contingency on which it would be proper for the South Carolina Delegation to leave this Convention. I feel confident in saying, that I do not believe my colleagues contemplated such a step when they came here. I know that such a feeling was cherished by others outside of the South Carolina Convention. It was cherished by those who sneered at our Convention and scorned to come into it. Somehow or other their feel-

ings and sentiments have been imbibed by the most of my colleagues, and they have gone out of this Convention leaving my friend Colonel Boozer and myself the only delegates from South Carolina. It is true that Colonel Simpkins, another delegate, concurs with us in remaining here, and would act with us if he were here, but he has been called home by the sickness of his family.

In remaining here, my friend Colonel Boozer and myself do not regard ourselves as disobeying any mandate of those who sent us, or of compromising any principle which we or they have professed. When the South Carolina Convention assembled in Columbia last week to send delegates here, I introduced a resolution reaffirming the Cincinnati platform with the principles enunciated in the Dred Scott decision, and they were adopted as the platform of South Carolina. The platform just adopted by this Convention reaffirms the Cincinnati platform, but neither affirms nor repudiates the principles of the Dred Scott decision. It is well known that those principles are maintained in the Southern construction of the Cincinnati platform. In voting for that platform, I voted for it with this well-known Southern construction, sustained as it is by the Supreme Court. All the other resolutions adopted by this Convention were voted for by South Carolina, as the record shows. But because a majority of this Convention would not adopt a resolution declaring that it is the duty of Congress to intervene and protect slavery in the Territories, my colleagues have withdrawn with a portion of the delegates from Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Florida. The delegates from Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri and Tennessee have seen proper to remain in this Convention. For one, sir, I am more inclined to stand by Virginia than by Alabama, and in doing so I think I have a wiser counsellor in danger and difficulty.

I know full well that the Congressional District which I represent in this Convention will approve and

sanction the course which I have seen proper to take, and I shall remain here and represent that District as long as I remain in Charleston. With this explanation of my position, I conclude by tendering my thanks to the Convention for the opportunity offered me so courteously, by them, of defining my position.

ADDRESS

To the Democracy of the Fifth Congressional District in South Carolina,
May 28, 1860.

Having been honored by your delegates in the Democratic Convention of South Carolina, at Columbia, with a seat in the National Democratic Convention in Charleston, and having differed with the majority of my colleagues in that Convention, I deem it proper to address you in explanation of my course. This is more imperative now, since District meetings have been held at all of your Court Houses, approving the course of my colleagues in seceding from the Charleston Convention. I thought at the time that I was fairly representing the feelings and instructions of those who sent me, and that my course would, at least, be approved by the Convention party of the Fifth Congressional District. Hear me, and judge for yourselves with candor and impartiality.

It is well known that the recent Charleston Convention was composed of delegates representing the "National Democracy of South Carolina," as distinguished from the "Secession party" of South Carolina, calling themselves the "States' Rights Democracy," who repudiated the Charleston Convention, and would have no representation in it. I thought the object of the party which assembled in Columbia was three-fold—to preserve the National Democratic party of the Union; to harmonize and agree on a platform which would embody the general political sentiments of that party; and to unite on suitable candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States. I knew that the Secession party of South Carolina, or anti-Convention party, were anxious to

break up the National Democratic party and sectionalize it, as they had no confidence in it, or desire to see perpetuated the American Union. The Convention party have always avowed different sentiments.

In regard to the platform to be adopted by the National Democracy in Charleston, the Columbia Convention simply re-affirmed the old Cincinnati resolutions and the principles of the Dred Scott decision. No instructions were given to insist on the adoption of this platform, and if not adopted, to leave the Convention. It was adopted only as expressive of the views and opinions of the Columbia Convention. Nothing was said about leaving or withdrawing from the Charleston Convention on any contingency whatever. Nor do I think any one, at that time, thought of such a course for the South Carolina delegates. It was known that Alabama had instructed her delegates to leave the Charleston Convention, unless the intervention of Congress to protect slavery in the Territories was distinctly admitted and acknowledged by the National Democratic Convention. If the Columbia Convention had at that time entertained any such feeling or purpose, surely they ought to have expressed it, as Alabama did. But so far from doing this, the Alabama resolutions, offered in substance by Mr. Powell, were voted down by the Columbia Convention! A resolution proposing to endorse the action of Alabama and stand by that State, offered by Mr. O'Connor and eloquently advocated, was likewise ignored by the Convention! What right had I then to suppose that it was expected of me to withdraw from the Charleston Convention, unless the Alabama or similar resolutions were adopted by the Convention?

Under these circumstances I received my appointment as a delegate to the Charleston Convention, and in good faith I went there to act in concert with the great Democratic party of the United States, and abide their action. The idea of separating from them, breaking up the party and sectionalizing the two wings of it, because the

Northern Democrats would not endorse and subscribe to the Southern construction of the Cincinnati platform, never entered my mind. I knew this was most ardently desired by those in South Carolina who refused to go into the Charleston Convention. Having belonged to the National Democracy all my life, and having always acted with them, I had confidence in their virtue, patriotism and honor. I went to Charleston to harmonize with them in a proper course as to the ensuing Presidential election. No individual, no section, can expect to have everything its own way, without regard to the wishes and feelings of others. When different views are entertained, some must yield for the sake of harmony and the success of the party, unless a vital principle is at stake which requires the severance of the party. Was this the case in the Charleston Convention? Let us consider it.

It was well known before the National Democratic Convention met in Charleston, that there was a difference of opinion between the Northern and Southern Democracy in reference to the slavery question in the Territories. There was a difference of opinion between the Southern Democracy themselves on the same subject. The Northern Democrats, generally, held that Congress had no power to exclude slavery from the Territories, nor any power to legislate it into them; but that the whole question of slavery or no slavery belonged to the people of the Territories to decide for themselves under the Federal Constitution. Some of them believed that the Territorial Legislatures could exclude slavery, and others believed that they could not, under the Constitution. All, however, admitted that this was a judicial question for the Supreme Court of the United States to decide, and when decided, was final and conclusive of the question, and such decision must be obeyed. This was the Northern creed, well known before we went into the Convention with them. The Southern Democracy contended that neither Congress nor the Territorial Legis-

latures could exclude slavery from the Territories, or by unfriendly legislation impair or destroy it when there, under the Federal Constitution. There were other Southern Democrats who insisted that it was the duty of Congress to intervene and protect slavery in the Territories by the passage of a slave code. These were the differences of opinion and views between the North and South, and between Democrats in the same sections. They were not regarded of such vital importance as to prevent the whole National Democracy meeting and agreeing on some common platform.

In the Charleston Convention the Northern Democrats were for re-affirming the Cincinnati platform which had been adopted four years ago by the National Democracy, and expressing a willingness to abide by the construction or decision of the Supreme Court as to the rights of the people of a Territory to exclude slavery through their Legislatures. The Southern Democrats wished the acknowledgment of the right of Congress to intervene for the protection of slavery in the Territories, and a denial of the right of the Territorial Legislatures to exclude or impair slavery in the Territories. Here the two wings of the Democracy split and took issue with each other.

The Northern Democrats insisted that the South ought to be satisfied to stand where they did four years ago on the Cincinnati platform, which declares that the subject of slavery shall be taken from Congress and left to the people of the Territories to regulate in their own way under the Federal Constitution. They told us they were fighting the battles of the South in the Northern States, and must have some ground to stand on and maintain themselves against the Black Republicans. It would be, in their opinion, as dangerous now, on the eve of the Presidential election, to change their platform, as it would be for a General, going into battle, to change the flank of his army! Defeat would inevitably follow. They were perfectly willing that we of the South should

adhere to our own construction of the Cincinnati platform, and leave them the liberty of doing the same. We were not asked to abandon any political principle in our old platform, but not to insert into it what they deemed a new version of it. They do not ask us to endorse their construction, and begged not to be forced to adopt ours.

On the part of the Southern Democrats it was contended that the old Cincinnati platform denied and repudiated Squatter Sovereignty; that they had always so construed it; that the Supreme Court of the United States had decided the question in favor of the South; but still, as the Northern Democrats, being hard pressed by the Black Republicans, had contended that there was a squinting at this terrible heresy in the Cincinnati platform, they must now give it up and abjure it forever, or be read out of the great National Democratic party.

Two sets of resolutions were reported by the majority and minority of the Committee on Resolutions. The majority resolutions, which claimed Congressional intervention on the subject of slavery in the Territories, had the sanction of all the slave States, fifteen in number, and the two Pacific free States, California and Oregon. The minority resolutions, the old Cincinnati platform, embodied the sentiments and feelings of sixteen free States, claiming that slavery should be taken from Congress and left to the people of the Territories to regulate in their own way, under the Federal Constitution and the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. Four years ago this platform was unanimously adopted by the South. It was regarded by them at that time as sound. No objections were heard to it. Everywhere the South contended that they had a right, according to this platform, to carry their slaves into the Territories and keep them in defiance of all Congressional or Territorial legislation against slavery. This was their construction of the Democratic creed.

Judge Douglas and the Northern Democrats gave a different construction to this platform whilst waging war against the Black Republicans. They contended that the people of the Territories had a right to control slavery as they saw proper, and might exclude it from the Territories altogether. They admitted that the Supreme Court was the proper arbiter, and its decisions must be final and conclusive. They denied, however, that this question had been properly before the Court in the *Dred Scott* case, or decided by the Court.

This is a fair statement of the two sets of resolutions reported by the Committee and their different constructions by the Northern and Southern wings of the Democratic party. In adopting the minority report, which the Convention did, and on account of which the South Carolina delegation left the Convention, I saw no compromise of principle whatever, or any abandonment of doctrines which we had contended for in the last Presidential canvass which had carried us triumphantly through to victory. We still gave the same construction to the same platform, and were further strengthened in his construction by the decision of the Supreme Court. If we could stand on the Cincinnati platform four years ago, before it had received the construction of the Courts, I thought that we might do so now with that construction in our favor. It is true the Northern Democracy ought to have yielded to the opinion of the Court and our construction of the Cincinnati platform. They would have done so but for the consequences at home in their civil war with the Black Republicans. But surely their not doing so did not change the principles of the platform, or our rights under the Federal Constitution to carry our slaves into the Territories and keep them there in spite of Congressional or Territorial legislation. Why, then, should we have made it a matter of so much importance as to break up the great Democratic party, and destroy the only hope left

us of electing a Democratic President, and crushing out the Black Republican party?

The Northern Democrats did not offer or wish to deprive us, by any resolution or expression of opinion, of our construction of the platform adopted. We were welcome to entertain it still, and they desired to have the same liberty of urging their construction in the Presidential contest. They said inevitable defeat would follow if they endorsed our construction, and certain victory if they did not. If they had urged on us the adoption of their construction, as we did on them the adoption of ours, there would have been good grounds for the Southern members leaving the Convention. But this they never attempted.

The South Carolina Delegation voted for every resolution of this odious minority report, except the first, reaffirming the Cincinnati platform which they had unanimously adopted four years ago! Yet, her delegates went out of the Convention! Not because there was anything in the platform objectionable to them or the State, but because the Convention refused to adopt a resolution construing the platform as we say it should be construed, and as the Supreme Court has construed it! Whether the Northern Democracy construed this platform one way or the other, it does not in the slightest affect our constitutional rights as to carrying slaves into the Territories and keeping them there.

It is said in all the newspapers of South Carolina, and proclaimed in all the public meetings in the State, that the seceding delegates were forced out of the Charleston Convention because the minority report, adopted by the Convention, acknowledged the damnable heresy of Squatter Sovereignty! Now, is there a word of truth in this assertion? Do the minority resolutions contain or embody anything of this doctrine? Not a word. In proof of this, I suppose the authority of Mr. Yancey, the gallant leader of the seceding members, ought to be conclusive. He declares, in his great

speech before the Charleston Convention, that the Cincinnati platform, which had then not been reaffirmed and adopted by the Convention, did not countenance the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty in any way whatever! This is his language: "*It follows that this Squatter Sovereignty construction has no foundation in reason, nor in the letter or spirit of the Cincinnati platform!*" Can language be more explicit than this? He had already proved by an able argument the above conclusion, which may be read in pages nine and ten of his printed speech. Again Mr. Yancey says, in emphatic language: "*No, sir, Mr. Douglas's doctrine is at war with the rights of Southern citizens, both under the Constitution and under the Cincinnati platform!*" This is true, and the Supreme Court of the United States has so decided in one of the ablest opinions ever delivered by any court.

Well, then, if there is no foundation for this Squatter Sovereignty "in the letter or spirit of the Cincinnati platform," why should we have broken up the Charleston Convention and the National Democratic party, because that platform was reaffirmed by the Convention without dotting an I or crossing a T? It is strange—it is passing strange! But it may be said that although there is nothing "in the letter or the spirit of the Cincinnati platform" countenancing Squatter Sovereignty, yet Mr. Douglas and his friends put that construction on it. If we were bound by that construction and not by the construction of the Supreme Court, there might be some force in it. Every expression of the human intellect may be differently construed by different persons. The Word of God, even, has been very differently construed by different religious sects. Is this any reason for casting aside the Bible and causing the various religious sects to refuse to unite in fighting against the Devil? The Black Republicans are the political devils against whom the Northern and Southern Democrats must unite to fight.

It ought to be borne in mind that the Northern Democrats have no interest in this fight against the Black Republicans except as the friends and allies of the South. No constitutional right of theirs is invaded or threatened. They have no pecuniary interest in this question of slavery in the Territories except it be against the doctrine they are contending for. Their honor is not concerned, like that of the South, in the exclusion of slavery in the Territories. They are in this matter disinterested patriots, rallying under the Constitution of their country, fighting the battles of the South and sacrificing themselves! And yet, we treat them as enemies, and declare to them that we will not accept them as allies and friends in this war unless they adopt all the minutiae of our political creed! Is not this requiring more than a generous, chivalric ally should ask?

The Black Republicans avow, in the most insulting terms, that there shall be no more slave territory, or slave States in the Union no matter how well adapted the climate and soil may be to African slavery. They declare, in fiendish terms, that slavery must be abolished everywhere, and that there is an irrepressible conflict between slave labor and free labor. On the other hand, the Northern Democracy say that there shall be no interference with slavery on the part of Congress, either in the States or Territories, but that it shall be left to the people everywhere to decide for themselves, whether they will or will not have slavery. When a State is admitted into the Union, it matters not whether she protects or excludes slavery. They are willing for the Southern people to carry their slaves into all the Territories belonging to the United States, and keep them there. But if the majority of the people of a Territory are opposed to slavery, and attempt to legislate against it, then it becomes a question for the courts to decide whether such legislation is constitutional or not. Is there no difference in these respective creeds?

In fact and in truth, is this right of carrying slaves into a Territory where the soil and climate is not adapted to them, where they never can be profitable or exist, and where a majority of the people are opposed to slavery, worth contending for? Much less is it worth while to think of breaking up this great and glorious confederacy for the establishment of this worthless constitutional right. If the climate and soil of a Territory are suitable for slavery, it will go there, and need no protection from Congress; and if they are not, all the protection that can be given by Congress and the Territorial Legislature will not carry and establish slavery there. Who would think of carrying slaves into a Territory to keep only while the Territorial government existed, and have to remove them or emancipate them when the Territory becomes a State? It is folly to think that any slaveholder will do so, or think of doing so unwise an act. Slavery will always protect itself everywhere and at all times, where it is the interest of the people to have it. And nothing can be more contemptible than to hear men who have no slaves, trifling politicians, bankrupts in fortune, weathercocks of popular opinion, and office-seekers, declaiming about their constitutional right of carrying their slaves into a Territory where they know slavery never can exist. And if slavery could exist there, yet, if a majority of the people are Abolitionists, it would be unsafe with all the protection which could possibly be given it by legislation. The slaves would be seduced and carried off by the Abolitionists in spite of all laws.

In regard to Squatter Sovereignty, or Popular Sovereignty, as it should be termed, an odium has been recently cast upon it in South Carolina which did not formerly exist. This doctrine was first announced by General Cass in his famous Nicholson letter. So far from being offended with it, South Carolina voted for General Cass standing on this platform, for President of the United States. Again, when General Pierce

was nominated in the Baltimore Convention, he was placed on this same platform, and received the hearty support of South Carolina as the Democratic nominee for President of the United States. Again, when Mr. Buchanan was nominated on the Cincinnati platform, the very platform reaffirmed by the Charleston Convention, in accepting his nomination, which was before the Dred Scott decision, however, he gave a decided Squatter Sovereignty construction to that platform. The following is his language: "This legislation is founded upon principles as ancient as free government itself, and in no accordance with them, has simply declared *that the people of a Territory, like those of a State, shall decide for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits.*" If this be not pure, undefiled Squatter Sovereignty, I know not what it is. And yet South Carolina voted for Mr. Buchanan unanimously! About the time of Mr. Buchanan's inauguration the Supreme Court of the United States had made their famous decision of the Dred Scott case. In that decision they declare that neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislature has power, under the Federal Constitution, to exclude slavery from a Territory. Mr. Buchanan adopted their decision in his inaugural address. That decision has made the Cincinnati platform all that the South should require or desire in reference to slavery in the Territories.

I will say, further, that this doctrine of Popular Sovereignty has had an odium cast on it in the Southern States, to which it is not entitled, according to the theory and practice of our republican institutions. The popular will must and has always prevailed in the United States, say and do what we please to the contrary. We see it illustrated every day in the practical working of our Government. At the South, the popular will, or Squatter Sovereignty, if you please, is opposed to declaring the slave trade piracy by Congress, and hence no convictions can be had under that law. In the North-

ern States the popular will is opposed to the Fugitive Slave law, and hence we see the extreme difficulty of enforcing that law, backed by all the power of the Federal Government. Some years ago the popular will of South Carolina was opposed to the Tariff laws passed by Congress, and they were nullified by a State Convention. So it is in regard to a great many State laws passed. They are never enforced because the popular will of the community is opposed to them. There are hundreds of statutes in South Carolina which are a dead letter because the voice of the people is opposed to them. *Vox populi est Vox Dei.*

This doctrine of popular sovereignty prevails not only in republics, but in monarchies and despotism. Kings and nobles, thrones and temples, are hurled into the dust by its breath! Constitutions and laws and ancient customs are crushed by its resistless fiat! In England the Queen and her ministry obey it implicitly! As soon as the vote of the House of Commons shows the government to be in a minority, the ministry resign, or an appeal is made to the people. The French nation have had memorable instances in their history of the strength and power of popular sovereignty, in overturning and scattering to the winds the strongest powers of the empire! So terrible is popular sovereignty, and all powerful, that courage and prowess and manhood, which stands undaunted in the field of battle amidst a hail storm of bullets and cannon balls, *will cower and shrink before it!*

So it will be in the Territories. If the soil and climate are in favor of slavery, popular sovereignty will carry it there, cherish it and keep it there, in defiance of Congressional or Territorial legislation excluding it. But if soil and climate are opposed to slavery, popular sovereignty will exclude it in spite of all the protection which the Federal Government or the Territorial Legislature can throw around it. All admit that when a people form their State Constitution they may adopt or

exclude slavery. I have already shown that no one is going to carry slaves into a Territory when he knows it will be a free State. He who does so will have a hard road to travel, opposed by soil, climate, Squatter Sovereignty and the Abolitionists. It is a road no one will travel, however wide and open it may be made by Congressional intervention.

This bone of contention, therefore, between the Northern and Southern Democracy is a mere abstraction, which will never benefit the Southern States or injure the Northern States in the slightest degree whatever. If Congress should attempt to exclude slavery from the Territories where it never will go or flourish, the attempt should be opposed as a point of honor on the part of the South. And with this view, we of the South have contended for the last thirteen or fourteen years that the slavery question should be taken from Congress and left to the people of the Territories to regulate in their own way under the Constitution. This doctrine has been at length established and settled on a firm basis to the satisfaction of the whole Democratic party. It was established by the compromise measures in reference to the Territories obtained from Mexico. It was affirmed by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. It was so declared in the Nebraska-Kansas bills. Non-intervention, thus established and affirmed by repeated acts of Congress, was adopted as the fundamental creed of the National Democratic party, on the subject of slavery in the Territories. Why should we now desire to change it and establish the right of Congress to intervene with slavery once more in the Territories?

Congressional intervention is the platform of the Black Republicans! They assert the right of Congress to exclude slavery as Congress did, in many instances, till the Democratic principle of non-intervention was established. A portion of the Democratic party are now disposed to abandon this great principle of non-intervention, and step on to the other end of the Black

Republican platform, and demand Congressional intervention for the purpose of protecting slavery! We all ought to see the danger of going to Congress, in which the free States have a majority, to seek the protection of slavery in the Territories, which I have shown needs no protection! For many years the whole country was agitated with this slavery question in Congress, and it was supposed that the Democratic principle of non-intervention would remove it entirely from both Houses of Congress. How suicidal would it be to throw it back upon Congress, and give up all we have gained in the last ten or fifteen years! I, for one, am unwilling to do so. I hold on to the following resolution in the Cincinnati platform: "The American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—*non-intervention by Congress with slavery in State or Territory, or in the District of Columbia.*"

Having received no instructions to leave the Convention, and no political principle of the South having been denied or repudiated by the resolutions adopted, I did not see proper to leave the Convention. I thought my duty required me to stay in the Convention, and endeavor to bring about a proper nomination for President and Vice-President. I consequently remained in the Convention, and cast my vote whilst there for Senator Hunter, of Virginia, who I regarded as embodying more of the true spirit of the South than any other candidate before the Convention. If the other Southern delegates had remained in the Convention, it is likely a nomination would have been made entirely acceptable to the South. It was well ascertained that Judge Douglas could not get the nomination of the Convention after the adoption of the two-thirds rule. Mr. Hunter, Mr.

Breckenridge or General Lane might have received the nomination. If Judge Douglas' friends had taken up either of those gentlemen, he would have been nominated, had the Southern delegates remained and voted for him.

In this respect, as well as in others, I think the withdrawal of a portion of the Southern delegates was unwise and unfortunate. It broke up, for the time being, the Democratic party, and, unless it is reunited, destroys the hope of a Democratic victory in the ensuing Presidential election. The States of Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri remained in the Convention. There were some of the delegates from Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Florida and Arkansas opposed to going out of the Convention. The consequence is that the Southern States are now divided when they should be united. This is a great misfortune. It is altogether likely that a portion of the Democracy in the withdrawing States will hold conventions and send delegates to Baltimore, to meet in a National Democratic Convention, whilst other portions of the Democracy of those States will hold similar conventions and send delegates to Richmond, to meet there in convention with a portion of the Southern States. This will produce factions in all the Southern States, disturbing and distracting the public mind, without any possibility of good resulting from it. It is undeniable that there are two factions of the Democratic party at this time in Alabama, and which gave rise to the course pursued by the Alabama delegates. The same state of factions exist in Louisiana, and perhaps others of the withdrawing or seceding States. When the National Democratic Convention meets again in Baltimore, the friends of Judge Douglas will be greatly strengthened by delegates from most of the seceding States.

Instead of a united South, we now shall have three parties in all the Southern States—the old Whig party,

or Union party, as they now call themselves; the National Democratic party, and the Southern Democratic party. What can the South expect to do, thus divided and distracted by factions? She is powerless. She stands by to see the Black Republicans inaugurated into power! If any portion of the Southern Democracy are looking to disunion, it is the worst course they can pursue to accomplish their purpose. If they are looking, as they ought, to a defence of the rights of the South, they are weakening and destroying the strength of the South.

As a Union Democrat, I can see no good growing out of the Richmond Convention, in which a portion only of the South will be represented, and that a divided portion! It is not at all likely that Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky or Maryland will be represented in the Richmond Convention. If there should be a representation from these States, they will be as powerless at home as a representation of South Carolina would be in the Baltimore Convention. Nor is it likely that any Northern State will be represented at Richmond. If they are, it will be a bogus representation, powerless at home.

I see that a number of the Southern senators and members of the House have signed an address, approving of the secession in Charleston, but urging the seceding members to return to Baltimore and harmonize with the National Democracy. It seems to me it would have been much better for the seceding members to have remained in the Charleston Convention and struggled there for harmony in the Democratic ranks. Having once gone out, I do not see how they can ever go back again. They should never have gone out, and the address should have told them so. It is inconsistent in its advice and its approval of their course. So are the letters of Toombs and Cobb recently published.

In regard to the District meetings which have been held in this Congressional District, I doubt very much

whether some of them express the political feelings and sentiments of the District. Conservative men stay at home and avoid those meetings, whilst fire-eaters and politicians attend them. But whether mistaken or not in regard to public sentiment in this Congressional District, I never was more thoroughly convinced than I am now, of the correctness of my own course in remaining in the Charleston Convention and doing all I could to procure the nomination of Hunter, of Virginia, and defeat that of Judge Douglas. This might have been accomplished if the seceding delegates had remained in the Convention.

How any Union man can expect good to grow out of the destruction of the only national party now in existence in the United States, is, to me, incomprehensible. And so it is, how any disunionist can expect success by dividing the South into three hostile factions! Both unionists and disunionists, and co-operationists also, have pursued a suicidal course. The Black Republicans will be the only gainers by these factious movements. It may be the old Whig party will be revived in the South by the present state of affairs. Bell may carry Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana by the division of the Democratic party.

Although I have always been a Democrat, and have the most profound regard for Democratic principles, yet I have ever had moral courage enough to stem popular sovereignty when I saw it was drifting the ship of State on breakers and into whirlpools. There is much more consolation in being *right* than in being *successful when wrong*. It has been my misfortune through life to have been in a minority, and yet I have had the consolation of seeing the opposing majorities ultimately acquiesce in the course I desired to be pursued. I have no doubt I shall have this satisfaction once more. And the time is not far distant when the breaking up of the National

Democracy, and the secession of the Southern delegates from the Charleston Convention, will be regarded by all thinking men as a most unwise and foolish act, productive of nothing but faction and strife, mischief and defeat, inglorious submission or revolutionary abortion !

DISUNION.

GREENVILLE, S. C., Aug. 13, 1860.

MESSRS. EDITORS—Enclosed I send you a communication, which you will please publish. You have said the columns of your paper were open to a free discussion of political questions. You will oblige me by giving an early insertion to the enclosed.

Yours truly,

B. F. PERRY.

To the *Charleston Courier*.

DISUNION.

It would seem, from the recent publications of Messrs. Keitt, Orr and Boyce, that South Carolina will soon have to secede from the Federal Union, either alone or in company with the other Southern States, or a portion of them. These gentlemen declare that the election of Lincoln to the Presidency is certain—that on the happening of such an event, prompt and immediate secession of the Southern States must ensue.

Is the election of a Chief Magistrate of the Republic sufficient cause for the destruction of the Federal Government and all the horrors of civil war and revolution? This is a grave and momentous question, and should be calmly and dispassionately considered in all its bearings before it is answered by the patriot and statesman. They who consider the union of the States an injury and a curse to the South, and are disunionists *per se*, will, of course, answer promptly in the affirmative. Their minds are already made up, and their purpose formed. To them it is a matter of no consequence how an event so desirable is brought about.

But there are others who think differently of the Federal Union. They have seen this American Republic, the only free government in the world, prosper and

flourish as no government ever did in ancient or modern times. In the course of seventy or eighty years we have increased from thirteen States to thirty-three States, from three millions of people to thirty millions, from poverty and weakness to wealth, power and grandeur, unsurpassed by the oldest and greatest nations of the earth. A wilderness, covering a vast continent, has been converted into towns, cities and cultivated fields. During all this time every one has enjoyed the most perfect freedom and security in all his rights as a citizen. At home and abroad we have commanded the respect and admiration of the world. In the remotest corners of the earth an American citizen knows and feels that he has a government able and willing to protect him, and that no power on earth dare molest him.

It is natural that they who thus reflect, and remember the farewell advice of the Father of his Country, *that union and liberty are inseparable*, who know from history, in all ages, the horrors of civil war, and the dangers of revolution to liberty and civil government, should wish and earnestly desire the perpetuity of the Republic, under which they live so happily. With such one may well reason and argue without giving offence, and ask for a calm and dispassionate determination before they decide on breaking up their Government, and running the hazard of forming a better one.

The probability is that the Black Republican candidate will be elected President of the United States. It is a grievous misfortune, and one to be deeply lamented by every citizen of the South. But it must be remembered that the Southern States will have brought this misfortune, grievous as it may be, on themselves, by their own divisions and party strifes. Nothing can be more clearly shown. It was predicted at the time, and the South forewarned of the impending danger.

In the unfortunate disruption of the Democratic party at Charleston, which I did all that I could do, amidst the hisses and assaults of an excited community, to pre-

vent, I saw the triumph of the Black Republicans in the ensuing Presidential election. I stated in a letter written and published immediately afterwards, that the Southern States would be divided into three bitterly hostile factions, that a Black Republican President would be elected, and that these petty divisions of the South would utterly defeat a union of the South in any scheme of disunion. It is true in religion and in politics, that the nearer sects and parties approach without assimilating, the more bitter they are towards each other.

If the seceding members of the Charleston Convention had retained their seats in that body, Breckenridge and Lane, or others equally acceptable to the Southern States, would have been the nominees of the Democratic party for President and Vice-President. It was a well-ascertained fact that Douglas could not, under any contingency, get the two-thirds vote requisite to a nomination. After a number of balloting, the friends of Judge Douglas would have cast their votes for Hunter, Breckenridge, Dickinson, or some one else acceptable to the South. But after the withdrawal of a portion of the Southern delegates, they became excited and more disposed to adhere to their candidate. The adjournment to Baltimore was for the purpose of giving the friends of Judge Douglas, in the seceding States, an opportunity of sending delegates in place of those who withdrew. This fact I know.

Lincoln will be elected President in consequence of this disruption of the Democratic party. He will be elected by *one-third* of the voters of the United States! Two-thirds of the votes polled will actually be cast against him! And yet he will be elected by the division of the opposition! He will barely get a majority of the non-slaveholding votes, and none in the slave-holding States. In New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Illinois and Indiana, he will not receive a majority of the votes, but carry those States, and perhaps Oregon and some others, by a plurality vote. Bell

and Everett will carry Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and perhaps Louisiana and Florida. Breckenridge and Lane will have South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, California, and, perhaps, Missouri, Louisiana and Florida, if the first is not given to Douglas, and the two latter to Bell.

If elected, Lincoln will come into power with two-thirds of the people of the United States opposed to his administration! This ought, in some measure, to appease the apprehensions of those who affect to be so much alarmed for the South. His administration will commence a weak one, and it is not probable that he can, backed by one-third of the people of the United States, seriously injure and oppress the other two-thirds.

But we have another check on his ability to do mischief. A majority of the Senate of the United States will be opposed to his administration, and no bill can become a law till it receives the sanction of the Senate. This majority in the Senate cannot be changed for several years to come. It is doubtful, too, as to the majority of the House of Representatives. More than likely the next election will give a majority of the members of the House in opposition to the Black Republicans. This is to be inferred from the popular vote of two-thirds against Lincoln in the Presidential election.

Mr. Fillmore became President of the United States with a worse record than Lincoln has on the slavery question, and he went out of office a very popular man at the South! He signed the Fugitive Slave bill, which Lincoln is pledged to enforce. He prevented blood-shed and civil war in New Mexico and Texas, which Taylor was about to inflict on the country. According to Senator Benjamin's speech, Lincoln does not stand pledged to the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, or against the admission of any more slave States into the Union, or to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or to the prohibition of the slave trade

between the States, or to the acquisition of more slave territory.

Judging from the course pursued by other Presidents, and that policy which usually governs politicians whilst in power, instead of doing any rash, violent or unconstitutional act to injure or offend those opposed to him, it is likely Lincoln will pursue a very cautious, politic and wise course towards the South. It cannot be in the nature of any man elevated to the Presidency to wish to see the Government broken up under his Administration, the Republic dismembered, and the country plunged into a civil war. Very likely his great effort will be to acquire popularity in the Southern States, and appease their opposition by a rigid adherence to the Constitution and respect for the rights of the South. It is not at all improbable that the South may find more favors under the Administration of Lincoln than they have under any Democratic administration. It may be that "Old Abe" will go out of office quite a favorite with the Southern people! At least we should give him a trial.

The election of President, in conformity with the Federal Constitution, is no ground whatever for breaking up the Republic, no matter how bitterly opposed to him we may be. We must wait and decide on his acts and measures; nothing less will justify us in the eyes of the world, or in the opinions of our people. To inculcate the notion that a portion of the citizens of a Republic may break up and revolutionize their Government, because they have been defeated in their choice of a Chief Magistrate, is the repudiation of the first principles of republicanism, and sanctioning that which leads inevitably to lawless despotism.

Before any such movement is put on foot, it would be well for Messrs. Keitt, Orr and Boyce to ascertain and see whether such a measure is likely to be acceptable to their party generally; and especially whether the friends of Bell, the Union candidate—whether the supporters of Judge Douglas in Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana,

and the adherents of General Houston in Texas—will co-operate with their opponents, the Breckenridge party South, in such a movement. To suppose so, shows a credulity beyond my comprehension.

Then the question arises, is it proper for South Carolina to take the initiative again in a disunion movement? Twice already has she failed, after marching boldly to the precipice and looking over. Nor has she won any laurels for wisdom and statesmanship in these threatened disruptions of her Government. Virginia was so discourteous as not even to accept of our invitation to meet in consultation on her own wrongs and injuries. Col. Orr thinks South Carolina should not act without Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. The Colonel knows very well that he is perfectly safe in waiting for Georgia. He would not be more so in waiting for Maryland or Kentucky.

This agitation of disunion is calculated, too, to damage seriously the prospects of Breckenridge and Lane in the Southern States, as well as in the Northern States. Bell's party and Douglas' friends North and South will make capital out of it, to the injury of Breckenridge.

I go for Breckenridge in this contest, with all my heart, and will say, under existing circumstances, that it shows a want of wisdom or fealty to the South for any Southern man to oppose him. Nothing can be more injudicious than the starting of a Douglas ticket in any Southern State. Its only tendency will be to give the vote of the State to Bell, and paralyze the strength of the South. Nor do I think any Breckenridge ticket should be started in a non-slaveholding State. Its effect will be to give the vote of such State to the Black Republicans. It would be much better to have Douglas in the Presidency than Lincoln. But it is almost certain that if two Democratic tickets are run in the Northern States that Judge Douglas will not carry a single State.

It was a great misfortune and a great wrong that Judge Douglas' friends should have urged his claims so

strongly as they did in the Charleston Convention. The South was entitled to the President. Three of the last Presidents were Northern men. The election depended on the South. She had the Democratic strength in a great degree. The South was prejudiced against Douglas, and no doubt many of the Seceders had rather see Lincoln elected.

The Charleston Convention ought to have been composed of National Democrats, and then there would have been no division in our ranks. Mr. Yancey and his friends had no more right to a seat in the Convention than Mr. R. B. Rhett and his friends had. They stood on the same platform, and I thought, and so said to my Convention friends, that they evinced unnecessary squeamishness after following Mr. Yancey out of the Convention, to refuse the proffered lead of Mr. Rhett after they got out.

With uncommon ability, Mr. Boyce, in 1851, exposed the folly of separate State action and secession. Why he has now changed I am at a loss to know. It would be well for him to take up some of his old arguments and answer them. He might find it hard to do. But still, until they are answered, they must have their influence on the public mind.

Col. Orr declared in the Columbia Convention, and sealed it with an oath, "so help me God, whilst the Federal Government is administered on Constitutional principles, neither my hand or my voice shall ever be raised against this Union." Now the election of Abe Lincoln will violate no Constitutional principle or provision of the Constitution. When such violation occurs under Lincoln's administration, the whole South may be united, and policy and patriotism dictate that we should wait till the violation occurs.

It may be that I am mistaken in supposing slavery to be out of the reach of the assaults of its foes, and if so I will be as ready as any one to defend it at the sacrifice of the Union itself, as much as I value the Union.

But I am not willing to act prematurely when there is no danger. As to dissolving the Union on a mere abstraction, the right to carry slaves where slave-holders never desire to carry them, and where they would be worthless if carried, I am opposed to it now and forever; and shall endeavor to defend the rights of the South in the Union, where I think they have been heretofore properly defended, and may still be defended if the South is true to herself and united in that defence.

That all who were Disunionists should have rejoiced at the breaking up of the Democratic Convention in Charleston is very natural. They saw in that movement the destruction of the National Democracy and their defeat in the coming Presidential election. They saw in the future the election of a Black Republican, and knew what a powerful lever it would be in their hands to wield against the Union. But that any friend to the Federal Union and lover of the peace and quiet of the Republic should have rejoiced at such a dire calamity, is most amazing. The Democratic party had been the friends of the South and the rights of the States, the true supporters and defenders of the Constitution, and the only just and wise rulers of the Government from its foundation to the present time. Under their administration the boundaries of the Republic had been enlarged by the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, Texas, California and Oregon. The rights and honor of the Republic had been gallantly defended in a war with Great Britain and with Mexico. How any patriot could chuckle and grin over the death of this glorious old party is more than I can comprehend.

But it does seem that for years past there has been at the South a systematic organization to weaken and drive from the Democratic party all who stand by it and fight for it in the Northern States. Their aim is to sectionalize parties, as the Black Republicans have done at the North! as the Federalists did during the war of 1812! all of which Washington denounced as

fatal to the Republic, fatal to our Independence, and fatal to Liberty itself.

Disunion—a word of horrible import to the illustrious sages of the Republic, one which was not to be breathed by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jackson—is now in the mouth of every flippant politician, certain newspaper editor, half-educated schoolboy, and unthinking mortal. It is the high road to office and popularity, and he who dare repeat the dying bequest of the Father of his Country is branded a traitor. The same feeling is manifested in the Northern States by the Black Republicans and John Brown sympathizers. Well may it be said, we have fallen on evil times; and that “those whom the gods intend to destroy, they first make mad.”

To consummate this folly it is proposed for South Carolina to march out of the Union solitary and alone. That if left alone we shall do very well, and if an attempt is made to force us back, the South will rally to the rescue. We had better not depend on being let alone if we oppose the collection of duties. We may withdraw our members of Congress and no one will disturb us. In 1851 President Fillmore did not manifest any disposition to let us alone. He sent troops to Charleston. Gen. Jackson did the same in 1831. We must not, therefore, expect to be let alone. Will the other Southern States rally to our assistance in doing that which they themselves think it advisable not to do? Would it not be more prudent to get them to unite with us beforehand? And if they will not unite in our action, for us to stay with them till some act is done which will unite the South?

There is no doubt at all if the whole South were united in any course, they could take care of themselves in any emergency. The proper course for South Carolina to pursue is to say to the other Southern States she is ready to act with them, and to await their action, whatever that may be. This will prevent her playing

before high Heaven a ridiculous farce or a bloody tragedy.

TO "MANY CITIZENS OF CHARLESTON."

In your communication addressed to me in the *Courier* of the 24 inst., you ask whether my recent letter or my resolutions in the Legislature last winter, "is intended to be considered my opinion?" and "a candid answer is desired." In all candor and sincerity I answer both, and will adhere to both with all that "honesty" which you say you have heretofore given me credit for.

The letter and resolutions are not at "variance," as you assert, and this I am ready to show in a few words. First, let me state the circumstances under which my resolutions were penned and offered. Public meetings were held throughout the Northern States expressing the deepest sympathy with John Brown, and approving what he had done! No counter meetings had been gotten up, or any expression of public opinion given at the North against sentiments so revolting to Christianity or civilization, and which, in my opinion, characterized them as pirates, traitors and assassins.

Under these circumstances my resolutions were offered, as I said in my speech, to rebuke the Northern people. I declared, at the same time, and in the same speech, that I did not or could not believe such sentiments and feelings were general in the Northern States. Immediately afterwards public meetings were held in almost every city and town at the North, denouncing in the strongest terms the conduct of John Brown and all who sympathized with him. Speeches were made and resolutions adopted by the wise and great, as well as by the humble and lowly, entirely satisfactory to the South. The leaders of the Republican party, even such men as Seward and Wilson, declared in the Senate of the United

States that they repudiated such feelings and sentiments. It became manifest that such fiendish sympathy and expressions were confined to the rabid, fanatical abolitionists alone.

In recent publications made by Gerritt Smith and Lloyd Garrison, the leaders of the Abolition party at the North, they bemoan the downfall of their cause in the Northern States, express their want of confidence in the Black Republican party, and their determination not to support such a party in the coming Presidential contest. But these publications are excluded from all Southern papers, and are unknown to the Southern people generally. These honest, rabid, political Abolitionists say what is true—that they have been deceived by the Black Republican party, and that this party cares nothing for the negro; that their only object is to get into power, and when in power, they will make no more noise against the South or slavery! Their only ambition is office and the spoils of office—victory and destruction. In other words, it is a political game which they are playing, without faith or sincerity to any principle whatever!

Now I repeat and re-adopt every sentiment, expression and word in my resolutions, and say that I feel an inexpressible scorn and contempt for the infamous, hypocritical sympathy expressed by a *portion* of the Northern people for the attempted insurrection at Harper's Ferry, and that the *general* adoption of such feelings and sentiments, alike revolting to Christianity and civilization by the Northern States, will make it dishonorable and dishonoring for South Carolina and the other slaveholding States to continue united in the same government with a people whose social and moral tone would characterize them as a nation of pirates, assassins and traitors.

Whenever there is sufficient evidence before the country to induce the Southern States to believe that the non-slaveholding States have *generally* adopted the

fiendish doctrines set forth in the addresses and resolutions at the John Brown sympathizing public meetings, I am for disconnecting at once, and forever, all political ties which unite us, as one people, with the Northern States. But I feel and know that such sentiments are now utterly repudiated by the whole Democratic party North, as well as by the entire Union or Bell and Everett party, and a large portion of the Black Republican party, composing, perhaps, nine-tenths of the Northern people. Believing this, as I most sincerely do, I am a Union man till the contrary offers, or until I see an overt action of treason against the Constitution and the South by those who control the Federal Government. I am unwilling to break up the Union on an uncertainty. I will take no counsel from base fear or cowardly apprehensions.

A "Secessionist" in the *Mercury* says, I talk very much like the Tories did in the Revolution, and that he who advises against withdrawing from the Federal Union now, would then have opposed a separation from Great Britain. Let us see if we have the same cause for revolution that our ancestors had. The following are some of the grievances which impelled the patriots and sages of the revolution to separate from the mother country as set forth in their Declaration of Independence.

Laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good were refused. Governors were forbidden to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance. People were required to relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature. Legislative bodies were called together at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from their public records. Representative houses were dissolved for opposing an invasion of the rights of the people. The population of the colonies was prevented. The administration of justice was obstructed. A multitude of new offices were created, and successors of officers sent to harass the people and eat out their substance. Standing armies were kept up in time of peace without the

consent of the Legislatures. The military was made independent of and superior to the civil power. The people were subjected to jurisdictions foreign to their constitutions and laws. Large bodies of armed troops were quartered on them. Murderers of the inhabitants of the colonies were protected by mock trials from punishment. Trade with all parts of the world was cut off. Taxes were imposed without the consent of the people. The trial by jury was denied. The citizens were transported beyond the seas to be tried for pretended offences. Charters were taken away, most valuable laws abolished, and forms of government altered. Legislatures suspended. War was waged against the people. Our seas were plundered, coasts ravaged, towns burnt, and the lives of our people destroyed. Large armies of mercenaries were transported hither to complete the work of desolation and tyranny. Citizens made to bear arms against their country. Insurrections were excited, and the merciless Indian savage called in to murder all ages and sexes.

Have we any such causes at present for breaking up the Government and dissolving the Union? Since the formation of our Government nine slave States have been added to the Confederacy, viz.: Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Missouri, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Arkansas, and Texas. No slave State has ever been excluded from the Federal Union. The Federal Government has recently declared that the people of every new State shall decide for themselves whether they will have, or prohibit slavery. The odious Missouri restriction, sanctioned by a Southern President, with Mr. Calhoun in his Cabinet, has been repealed, and in favor of slavery. The Federal Government, with a Northern President at its head, has passed a Fugitive Slave law within a few years past. This law has been enforced by all the powers of the Federal Government. Through their Judiciary the Government has declared that the citizens of the slaveholding States have the same right to

move with their slaves into a Territory that the citizens of the non-slaveholding States have to move there with their property. The Federal Government has declared that Congress has no right to pass any law prohibiting slavery in the Territories, and that the Territorial Governments have no such power. What more do we want? Where is the analogy between our present grievances and those of our forefathers, who separated from the British Throne and established the American Republic?

Where, let me ask "A Secessionist," in the name of God and all that is sacred on earth, where are those violations of the Federal Constitution, and those actual existing grievances of the South which, in his own language, would brand WASHINGTON as a TRAITOR, if he were now to repeat the language of his Farewell Address in reference to the value of the American Union? They may come. It is possible. When they do, we will meet them like men. But, until then, we may be excused for admiring, loving, and holding sacred the dying words of the Father of his Country. If they had been uttered yesterday, they could not have been more appropriate. I beg permission to repeat them:

"The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable

attachment to it, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as a palladium of your political safety and prosperity, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."

This is the warning, prophetic language of the Father of his Country—the words of his Farewell Address to his countrymen—embodying that great and glorious sentiment of his heart—Independence, Union and Liberty—which manifested itself in every act and word of his illustrious life, repeated in his will and left as a dying legacy to his country! Is there a man now living who has studied, honors and appreciates the character of Washington so reckless as to say that, if he were to rise from his grave, he would not, at this time, with a full knowledge of the past and present history of the Republic, repeat with tenfold earnestness, North and South, every word he had ever uttered in reference to the value of the Union? And yet if he did, "A Secessionist" would brand the name of WASHINGTON as a TRAITOR TO THE SOUTH!

During the eight years of Washington's administration he saw enough of sectional strife and sectional jealousy to have a presentiment of what was to occur in the future history of the Republic. Hence, his great anxiety on that subject, and his dreadful apprehensions about the Union. The evils of Disunion are well portrayed in his Farewell Address, and deserve to be read by those who are so anxious to rend into fragments the American Republic.

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN CHARLESTON, 1860.

In the Spring of 1860 the National Democratic party held their convention in the city of Charleston, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States. It was supposed that the assembling of the delegates in this city would have a salutary influence on the State of South Carolina and the Southern States generally. But it was soon manifest, after the Convention met, that the citizens of Charleston and the crowd of Southern people there at that time exercised a most unhappy influence on the Convention. The galleries of the convention and the streets of the city were crowded with Secessionists and Disunionists, who desired to break up the Democratic party and the Union of the States. The Southern delegates were emboldened to insist on their extreme principles in the formation of the Democratic platform.

First before the meeting of the Charleston Convention, there was a Convention of the Democracy of South Carolina, in Columbia, for the purpose of appointing delegates to the National Democratic Convention. Governor Orr was made President of this Convention, and on taking the chair, delivered a very good Union address. He said that his views in regard to the American Union had undergone a great change, and that he was then disposed to preserve it. The Convention seemed moderate in their tone and temper, and rejected the Alabama resolutions, which some delegate from the eastern part of the State had introduced as a platform of principles. Under these circumstances the delegates

were appointed, and instead of being instructed to withdraw, if the platform did not suit the South, the rejection of the Alabama resolutions was regarded as instructions to remain in the Convention.

I was appointed a delegate to the Charleston Convention, and went immediately on from Columbia to attend the Convention. Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, was elected President of the Convention, and a more judicious selection of a presiding officer could not have been made. He discharged the onerous duties of the chair with great ability, promptness and impartiality. Hundreds of points of order were made by delegates very much excited, and in every instance decided correctly. All were impressed with his ability as a presiding officer.

New York sent two sets of delegates to the Charleston Convention, and the question arose which set should be allowed to take their seats. The committee reported in favor of the delegates first appointed, and they took their seats. In adopting the platform there was great cavalling and the highest excitement. No disposition was manifested either by the North or the South to compromise. I thought there were some delegates who wished to prevent the Convention agreeing on a platform. It was my impression that William L. Yancy, of Alabama, came to Charleston for the purpose of breaking up the Convention. He knew very well that the Alabama resolutions would not be adopted by a majority of the Convention, and therefore, in case of their rejection, the Alabama delegates were instructed to withdraw from the Convention.

When it was pretty well ascertained that the platform would not be acceptable to the South, there was a great deal of caucusing and consulting with the different delegations as to the propriety of their withdrawing from the Convention. The South Carolina delegation had been telegraphing our members of Congress in Washington, as to the course they should pursue, and

they advised us to quit the Convention. One morning Colonel Wilson, of Georgetown, introduced a resolution in a meeting of the South Carolina delegates pledging ourselves to withdraw from the Convention. I immediately arose, and said that I should not quit the Convention or feel myself bound to obey the action of the majority of the delegation. I had been sent there to represent the State in making a nomination for President, and had received no instructions to quit the Convention under any circumstances. The resolution was then withdrawn and every delegate was to act on his own responsibility.

I was staying with my friend, Dr. F. Y. Porcher. I left the Convention at the usual dinner hour; on my return I found the South Carolina delegation had retired with the Alabama delegation and a large number of other Southern delegates, and were holding a meeting in another building. Colonel Boozer, of Lexington, came into the Convention and we determined to remain and vote on the nomination of candidates for President. We cast our votes for Senator Hunter, of Virginia, and I was hissed every time I said so by the Secessionists in the gallery. One day I rose to make a speech, and the hissing in the gallery was so loud and continued, that it was moved to clear the galleries. This I opposed, and said that I wished the galleries to hear what I had to say. The motion was withdrawn and I made my speech.

The retiring of the South Carolina delegates was caricatured by Colonel Arthur, of Columbia, with great humor. General Simons was made to say as the delegates marched out of the Convention—"Let us retire with dignity." Governor Orr and Colonel Simpkins were on their road home and the latter with a banjo playing "home sweet home." Mr. Solicitor Reed was enquiring how far it was to the Secession meeting, and a little negro boy was telling him Mass Yancy had gone and he must follow quickly. I was represented as

standing on my principles and refusing to go. Colonel Boozer was holding on to the skirts of my coat.

The Convention balloted some forty or fifty times without the remotest probability of agreeing in their nomination. The friends of Stephen Douglas would not think of abandoning him, and the remaining Southern delegates could not accept him as their candidate. The Convention finally broke up to meet again in Baltimore. I did not attend the Baltimore session. Then the delegates divided again, and the Southern wing of the Democratic party nominated Breckenridge, of Kentucky, and the others nominated Douglas. This broke up the great Democratic party, and a dissolution of the Union was the consequence. The Whig party nominated Bell, of Tennessee, and the Black Republicans were all centred on Abraham Lincoln. He was elected by a minority vote, and his party refused all compromises. A bloody sectional war ensued for four long years, and the consequences have been most horrible, and I fear fatal to constitutional liberty and republican government.

UNITED STATES SENATOR.

The election of the Hon. B. F. Perry to the position of United States senator, on Monday last, with such unanimity for the long term, is one of the best evidences of the loyalty of the Legislature and people of the State that could be given to the administration at Washington, and we are sure it will be so regarded there. It will reassure and strengthen the hands of President Johnson in his great and noble work of reconstruction. It will, moreover, materially aid and strengthen the conservative party at the North who are doing such good service in battling against radicals of New England.

As regards the eminent fitness of Governor Perry for this position there is but one opinion, we are confident among our people. Throughout his public career, which has been marked by distinguished ability, he has been a consistent conservative statesman. His appointment as Provisional Governor in the darkest hour of our misfortunes, was hailed by the whole people of the State as an act of wisdom and patriotism on the part of President Johnson, and their representatives have set the seal of their approbation of his gubernatorial course by electing him to the highest office in their gift.

NATIONAL RESTORATION,

After the Refusal of the United States Senate to admit South Carolina Senators, 1866.

To the Editors of the National Intelligencer :

My credentials as United States senator from the State of South Carolina were presented the other day to the Senate by the Hon. Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, and laid on the table. It is not likely that any representative from South Carolina will be heard in either House for some time to come. In the meantime questions of vital importance to her interests, honor and welfare will be before the Senate. I therefore ask permission of you to say a word, through your paper, in behalf of the State which I was elected to represent. But first, Mr. Editors, let me say a word in reference to myself, so that my true position toward the State may be known, and what I say in her behalf properly judged of. My whole political life, for more than the third of a century past has been spent in defence of the maintenance of the Federal Union and in opposing the popular doctrines of nullification, secession and disunion in my native State. No man in America regretted more deeply than I did the fatal secession of South Carolina in 1860. I had been brought up from my childhood in the school of Washington's Farewell Address, and I believed, most religiously, all the great truths therein set forth. The terrible consequences of disunion were ever present in my mind, and I never ceased to warn my fellow-citizens of them. I remember telling them that their secession would prove the death-knell of slavery, the establishment of a military

despotism in the Southern States. Both events have occurred, but I hope the latter is only temporary.

Much is to be said in extenuation of the course pursued by South Carolina. The people had been taught by their greatest statesmen, for a half century past, and educated in the belief that a sovereign State had the right peaceably to secede from the Federal Union. However grossly mistaken, they were sincere in this belief, is sincere as they were in their belief of the Christian religion. None can doubt it who knows, as I do, their honest devotion to principle on all occasions and under all circumstances. It does sometimes happen in politics, as in religion, that the more absurd and paradoxical the proposition, the stronger becomes the faith of the believer. In illustration of this opinion I might refer to the present belief of the Republican party as to the equality of the negro and white races.

The people of South Carolina thought, too, that there was a determination on the part of the Northern States to interfere with their domestic institutions, and abolish slavery by Congressional legislation. They saw in the election of President Lincoln the triumph of a sectional majority over the South. I did all that I could to disabuse the public mind of these apprehensions. I reminded them that a large majority of the Republican members of Congress had declared by resolution that they had no constitutional right to interfere with slavery in the States, and no disposition to do so if they had. I said that President Lincoln had been elected by a minority of the votes polled in the United States; that there was a majority of the members in both Houses of Congress opposed to him, with a majority of the Supreme Court, and he was therefore powerless in the administration of the Government. But when the Southern members withdrew they placed him and his party in power.

The people of South Carolina further believed that it

was the interest of the North and the South, as they could not live harmoniously together, to separate and form two independent nations. They had been wrangling and stirring up sectional strife ever since the formation of their Government. They did believe that the two sections could live peaceably and happily as neighbors, under different Governments, whilst they could not, as one people, under the same Government. For this opinion, which was sincerely entertained by them, I thought and told them that they ignored all history as well as the character and circumstances of the American people.

They thought, too, that they were justified in taking this step by that great principle embodied in the American Declaration of Independence, deemed sacred to the cause of liberty and Republican Government, which declared that every people had an inalienable right to self-government and the right to change their form of Government when they saw proper. It was on this principle that their forefathers had separated from Great Britain. They were in hopes, and a large majority of them did verily believe, that the Northern States would let them depart in peace, and try their experiment of a Southern Confederacy, rather than involve the country in a cruel, bloody and unnatural war, to enforce an unwilling political alliance. If they could have foreseen the horrible results of secession in the desolation of their country, the abolition of slavery, the destruction of their property, a four years' war, and the sacrifice of two hundred thousand Southern lives, no sane South Carolinian would have thought of, much less advocated, such a doctrine; and it is hardly probable that if the Northern people could have foreseen the loss of five hundred thousand of their fellow-creatures, and the increase of their national debt to more than three thousand millions of dollars, that they would have been willing to have paid this horrible price as a Christian and civilized people for the sake of living

under the same Government with the Southern States. Under these circumstances the people of South Carolina, with those of ten other States, did secede from the Federal Union and establish a National Confederacy. Gallantly and heroically they fought for that nationality, and maintained it for four long bloody years against the gigantic armies which were hurled against them. They made herculean efforts and heart-rending sacrifices in its defence which will live in history with the most renowned achievements of Greece and Rome. In the end their strength and resources were exhausted, and they were overwhelmed by numbers, conquered and subdued. Brave and honorable, they have accepted the results of the war as the decree of God. The fortunes of battle decided against their right of secession, and they have abandoned it forever. They now acknowledge the Federal Union as perpetual, in the spirit with which it was framed. In obedience to the President's proclamation they have prepared themselves to resume, in good faith, their position once more in the Union. They met in Convention; repealed their Ordinance of Secession, restored their obligations to the Constitution of the United States, and abolished African slavery, which had been a cherished patriarchal institution with them, and under which the negro had multiplied and increased in a manner which proved that he had been kindly treated and cared for in his slavery. In doing this, they gave up two hundred millions of dollars' worth of property. They accepted and ratified the amendment of the Federal Constitution, declaring that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should ever exist again in the United States, unless for crimes whereof the party had been duly convicted. They remodelled and popularized their State Constitution, abolishing whatever was of aristocratic tendency in it, making representation and taxation equal throughout the State, and giving the election of Governor and Presidential electors to the

people. Their Legislature afterwards assembled and secured by law the rights of the freedmen to life, liberty and property, the right of giving testimony in all cases where their interests were involved, and establishing for them a fair and impartial trial in their courts of justice.

All this the people of South Carolina have done in good faith, and are this day as loyal to the Union as the people of any other State. They are now as earnest and zealous in their support of the Constitution of the United States, and the honor of the Republic, as they were a few years since in their efforts to establish and maintain a Confederacy of the Southern States. Everywhere, all over the State, they are quiet and peaceable, obeying the laws of the Federal Union, and trying to redeem, by their industry and economy, their broken fortunes, and restore the State to prosperity and happiness. They have no wish or thought of dishonoring their national characters by repudiating the national debt of the Union; nor have they a wish for the United States to pay or assume any of the liabilities of the Confederate Government. Their earnest desire is to have restored those kind social and commercial relations which formerly existed between the different sections of the Union. Slavery having been abolished, which was the great disturbing element between the North and the South, they see no reason why there should now be any longer dissensions between the two sections. They are mutually dependent on each other, and never were two people more necessary to each other's prosperity and happiness. They have descended from the same families of nations; they speak the same language, have the same religion, literature, and laws, and are connected by blood and marriage. The gigantic struggle through which they have just passed proved that their manhood and courage are the same. Brave and honorable men, who have fought each other like men, are ever ready to be reconciled on fair and honorable terms. They who kept out of the war on both sides are the hardest to be reconciled.

There is no feeling of unkindness in South Carolina towards the freedmen, but, on the contrary, one of deep sympathy and protection on the part of their former owners. In the upper and middle portions of the State the negroes have all made contracts, and gone to work and are doing well. It is only in the lower country and on the sea islands, where they have been interfered with by a mistaken philanthropy, that there is any disturbance. If the Northern people were more familiar with the negro, and understood better his character and disposition, they would give themselves less trouble about him and his political rights. The negro does not desire, and is incapable of exercising, with prudence and discretion, the right of suffrage in his present degraded and ignorant condition. To give him this right in South Carolina would be to establish an odious and dangerous political aristocracy. A man with a large landed estate, having it cultivated by freedmen, would always be able to control their votes in every election. Instead of having one vote, as his poor neighbor has, he would have fifty or a hundred, in proportion to his colored hirelings. The negro wants bread and meat for himself, his wife and children to eat, and clothes to wear, but he neither wants votes nor is he capable of voting on political questions. It is said in sacred Scripture that the leopard cannot change his spots, nor the Ethiopian his skin, nor can you, by any system of legislation, elevate the African to an equality with the white man. For over two thousand years he has remained in his native country, the same ignorant savage and barbarian, without the slightest advancement in civilization, whilst all the Caucasian nations of the earth have been going forward with wonderful improvements in all the arts and sciences of life.

There is something in every one's heart which tells him that human slavery is wrong in the abstract, and ought not to be. And yet no fair-minded man who compares the condition of the negro in Africa with that of the recent slaves in the Southern States, but must

admit that he has been greatly improved by slavery. In a few years it is apprehended that it will be equally manifest that the freedman has not been improved by the abolition of slavery. Whilst a slave, he was fed, clothed, attended in sickness, taken care of in old age, and his children provided for. This is about as much as any laboring class can realize for their labor in any country. But I would not restore slavery if I could, and this is the general feeling and sentiment of South Carolina. The young negroes and the old ones will not be taken care of and provided for, as they were in slavery, and they will die, whilst the planter will make more out of the labor of those who are grown and able to work.

But if the Northern people really feel so much interest in the negro race as they would have us believe, why do they not hold out inducements for the freedman to immigrate North, and live there with their friends and patrons, who are able to take care of them? Nothing of this kind has been offered or attempted. On the contrary, many of the former non-slaveholding States have prohibited their entrance under severe penalties. They have likewise been denied the right of suffrage in all of these States except six. The Southern States are very willing for the freedmen to go North, and have there conferred on them the right of suffrage. But is it just and right on the part of Connecticut and other States, where the negro has been free for a century, that he should be denied the right of voting there, and for those States to insist that he shall be allowed to vote in South Carolina, where he has just been emancipated? We do not complain of the policy of Connecticut, but insist that she has no right to enforce on us a different policy. Every State has the undoubted right, under the Federal Constitution, to determine for herself who shall exercise the right of suffrage.

It is most remarkable that whilst two-thirds of the States are legislating on the dearest and most vital interests of the Southern States, these States, composing one-

third of the Republic in population, and one-half in extent of territory, should be excluded from all participation in such legislation. It is not only contrary to Republican principles, but an outrage on the sense of justice in a despotism, for ten millions of people to be tried, condemned, and deprived of their civil, political and constitutional rights without a hearing. They have been in rebellion, it is true, and they have likewise been pardoned by Executive clemency, and restored to their citizenship and loyalty. There were in those rebel States Union men who struggled bravely to ward off the terrible calamities of disunion till all protection by the United States was withdrawn from them, and they were left no choice but to become the obedient citizens of a *de facto* Government. Is it right that they should be punished for their misfortunes, and have no distinction made in their favor?

If the doors of Congress were opened to the representatives of the Southern States, very few of them could take the test-oath. They may have been ardent and zealous Union men at the beginning of the struggle, but the force of circumstances necessarily compelled them to give countenance to the rebellion before it was over. The United States Government ceased to protect them, and left them subject to another Government, which maintained its control over them for four years. By the rigid laws of England on the subject of treason, as well as by the rules of common sense and justice, no one who submits to a *de facto* King can be declared a traitor. They saw the United States leading indiscriminate war against Union men as well as Secessionists, desolating the country, burning their houses, plundering their provisions, and leaving them and their families to starve. They saw their friends and kindred in the Southern army trying to defend their country and homes and property, fighting as their forefathers had done in the American Revolution for the right of self-government. It would be in vain to ask such a Union

man to swear he had never in word or deed "countenanced" the rebellion or given aid and comfort to those who were in rebellion.

This test-oath may have been politically right whilst the war was going on, so far as it applied to the officers of the Government. Its purpose was to exclude traitors and disunionists from office. But with peace all necessity for the oath ceased in the loyal States. Its enforcement in the Southern States is not only unjust, after the President's amnesty proclamation, but utterly impracticable. The Government cannot be administered in those States with that oath. It is impossible to find persons able to take the oath who are capable of filling the various appointments under the Treasury and Post-Office Department. The heads of those departments, as I once informed them, whilst Provisional Governor of South Carolina, would have to wait till another generation sprang up, for neither the men, women or children could conscientiously declare that they had not given countenance to the rebellion.

But this test-oath does not apply to members of Congress, for they are not "officers" of the Government. The Federal Constitution does not anywhere call them officers, or recognize them or allude to them as officers of the Government. Instead of being officers of the Government, they are the representatives of the people and the States, senators and members of Congress. In the early history of our Government it was so decided, and has been so recognized ever since, till the passage of this test-oath.

The Federal Constitution prescribes an oath for senators and members of the House, and no additional oath of any character whatever can be constitutionally required of them. The powers of Congress are delegated and enumerated, and they have no others, and can exercise no others, except it be to carry out and enforce some enumerated power.

It would be monstrous, indeed, if a majority in Con-

gress had the power of prescribing an oath for the members to take when they qualify. They might exclude the minority from their seats by requiring them to swear that they never had been Democrats, or voted a Democratic ticket, or countenanced in any way a Democratic candidate.

Each House is the judge of the election returns and qualifications of its members; but this simply requires the House or the Senate to decide whether the election returns and qualifications of the members elect are in conformity with the Constitution. The attempt to derive the power to pass a test-oath from this clause of the Federal Constitution is about as absurd as the right of secession, and equally as dangerous in its consequences.

It would seem that the object of the Radical party in Congress, in offering so many amendments to the Constitution, and insisting on the application of the test-oath to members of Congress, was to perpetuate their power in the Government. Instead of having this effect, however, it will more than likely have just the opposite tendency. Their amendments will never be adopted by three-fourths of the States, and their continued exclusion of the Southern members must produce a reaction against them, when they go before the people again.

If the Southern members were all admitted, the Radical party would still have a majority in both Houses. They need not, therefore, be afraid of the sceptre departing from Judah, during the thirty-ninth Congress. It is true their majority would be diminished, and it is possible that a measure like that of the Freedmen's Bureau bill might have been endangered on its passage, if the Southern representative had been permitted to show its monstrous injustice to the planter, its demoralizing influence on the freedman, its ruinous consequences to the culture of the Sea Island cotton, and the startling expenditures it will require to support

the idle and vicious negroes who will not work, and are to be fed and clothed by the Government. This bill taxes the poor white man throughout the North to support the vicious and vagrant Southern negro. It takes from the planter his home without consideration, and turns his wife and children out of doors to perish, in order that his former slaves may not be under the necessity of making a contract to work those lands, but be able to live on them in idleness, and get their support from the Freedmen's Bureau.

As an evidence of the boasted loyalty and good conduct of these negroes, it may be stated that a party of gentlemen from the State of Pennsylvania visited one of the islands near Charleston the other day, with written permission from Gen. Sickles. The negroes captured the party in violation of military orders, and were going to massacre the whole party of them; marched them twelve miles across the island, and treated them with the greatest indignity the whole route. Those are the people who are to be allowed to vote, and elect out of their number a member of Congress.

The Southern people have been peculiarly unfortunate. At one time they thought it better to withdraw their members from Congress, and live separately from the North. This they desired to do peaceably and quietly. The North objected, and declared that the Union should not be dissolved. They were repeatedly told that they must lay down their arms, elect their members of Congress, and resume their position in the Union. Finally they consented to do so. Now they are told that the Union is dissolved, and they shall not be allowed to resume their places in it! Let the North beware, lest in forging chains for the South they do not enclose themselves. This Freedmen's Bureau is an *imperium in imperio*, and now embraces the North as well as the South.

But I am not disposed to despair of the Republic. I have always had an abiding faith in the virtue and

intelligence of the American people, North and South. The time must come, sooner or later, when the test-oath will be repealed and Southern Representatives admitted to their seats in Congress. I was once excluded from office in South Carolina by a test-oath on account of my Union principles. I did not then despair, and I do not now. The oath was carried before an independent and enlightened judiciary of the State, and it was declared unconstitutional. If the present test-oath can ever be brought before a similar tribunal in the Capitol, it must share the same fate. The American people, too, will have to sit in judgment on it at the next election, and decide whether the Union shall continue or be superseded by a military despotism. The North should consider that *when once the Southern people have been enslaved, they may be fit instruments to enslave the North*, as we said by the great Earl of Chatham in reference to our forefathers and England at the commencement of the American Revolution.

The Southern States have committed grievous errors, and terrible has been their punishment—sufficient, one would suppose, to gratify the blackest hate of the most malignant revenger. There is nothing more gratifying to a noble and generous nature than mercy and forgiveness. Nor is there anything more pleasant to a mean and cowardly spirit than the gratification of its revenge and hatred. The history of man in all ages illustrates the truth of this assertion.

The great crime of the Southern States was simply a wish to live separated from the North. They did not seek to conquer and subdue the North, or to rule over the North, but only attempted to govern themselves in their own way and after their own fashion. This boon was denied them, and their country has been devastated, their towns, cities and villages laid waste, their property taken from them, and the people left bankrupted and starving. Now they humbly ask to be permitted to live quietly, peaceably and loyally in that Union, and

renew their social, political and commercial relations with the North. It is to be hoped that the kind, generous and magnanimous policy adopted by the President will be pursued and carried out by the American people, and that we shall be once more, **FREE, UNITED, HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS**, showing to the world that man is capable of self-government, and that no kingdom or empire is equal in justice, virtue, strength and grandeur to a great Republic founded in the hearts and affections of the people.

LETTER ACCEPTING NOMINATION FOR CONGRESS.

September 11th, 1872.

*J. H. Rion, D. R. Duncan, and S. P. Hamilton, Esqs.,
Committee, etc.:*

GENTLEMEN:—I had the honor of receiving your communication of the 9th instant last evening, informing me that “the Democratic Convention for the Fourth Congressional District had unanimously nominated me as the candidate of the Democratic party for election to the House of Representatives of the United States Congress from said district,” and that you “beg to urge upon me the acceptance of the nomination.”

This unsolicited and unexpected expression of confidence on the part of the Democratic Convention of this Congressional District has made a deep impression on my feelings, and I can assure the members of that Convention, representing the counties of York, Chester, Fairfield, Laurens, Spartanburg, Greenville, Pickens and Oconee, that I highly appreciate the distinguished honor they have conferred on me. At this time and under existing circumstances, it is one of peculiar and extraordinary distinction. The intelligence, education and wealth of the State of South Carolina, comprising 40,000 or 62,000 voters, possessing, in a great measure, all the commerce, agriculture and manufactures of the entire State, are unrepresented in the Congress of the United States, and only partially represented in our State Legislature. This anomalous condition, in a government purporting to be Republican, has existed in South Carolina for the last seven years and brought the State to the lowest depths of political infamy and to the verge of bankruptcy and ruin the loss of

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civil liberty and personal security! This Congressional District is the only one in the whole State in which there is a chance of electing a representative of the white people. If elected, therefore, I shall have the proud distinction of being the sole representative of the virtue, intelligence and wealth of South Carolina in the National Congress.

There must be a change. This condition of affairs cannot last much longer without the most terrible results. It therefore behooves every one who loves his country and values its peace and prosperity to exert himself and make any and every sacrifice necessary to restore Republican principles and the purity of our Government, both State and Federal. Profoundly impressed with these sentiments, I did not feel myself at liberty to refuse, a few days since, the nomination of the Democratic party of Greenville county as a candidate for the State Senate, although it was made against my earnest protestations, on account of my health, age and disinclination to enter again public life. But my friends urged that I could be of service in redeeming the State from its degradation and ruin. I accepted their nomination. This embarrasses me now in determining my duty. But as Greenville was represented in the Congressional Convention and consented to my nomination, I feel that it is the wish of the county I should accept the higher and more responsible position here assigned me.

In accepting the nomination now tendered me, it is proper that I should state that all my feelings and principles are in sympathy with that great national party whose purpose is reconciliation between the two sections of our country and the two races which live in the Southern States, and whose aim is, under the leadership of Horace Greeley, to purge the Government of its corruptions, restore Republican principles, and promote the peace and prosperity of all sections and classes. The radical party, North and South, see and know that their success as a party depends on keeping up the hatred

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of the North to the South and the hatred of the colored race to the white race. When these hatreds and prejudices are crushed out, the radical party will lose their ascendancy in the Government. The colored people will no longer be the political slaves of selfish and designing office seekers and holders, who are basely and treacherously using them for their own promotion and plunder. The interests and rights of the colored people have been sacrificed and betrayed by their pretended friends and guardians, the carpet-baggers and scalawags! The moneys appropriated for the education of their children have been stolen and squandered! The free schools are closed! The hundreds of thousands of dollars appropriated to purchase for them homes have gone the same way—to enrich scoundrels—and leaves them homeless and houseless! Their taxes have been increased until the burden is oppressive and intolerable! It is a well-known fact in political economy that the laboring classes have, ultimately, most of the taxes to pay, although, in the first instance, levied on property. The merchant adds the duties he pays to the price of his goods, and the consumer restores the tax; so the tax on lands and personal property causes the owner to charge higher rents and pay less for labor.

The two best and sincerest friends the colored people ever had are Horace Greeley and Charles Sumner. These gentlemen have urged the colored people *not* to antagonize themselves, as a race, to the white people, but vote independently and for honest and intelligent men. Their political rights are secured by Constitutional Amendments, and they have nothing to fear except the bad men they put in office and who falsely tell them that there is danger in voting for or confiding in their former masters and friends.

How any one who loves his State and values civil liberty can prefer General Grant to Horace Greeley is strange, passing strange. In time of *profound peace* General Grant issued his proclamation, ordering the people

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disperse and return to their homes in certain counties. They were *at home* at that *very* time, and no disturbance had taken place for months previously. The civil authorities were not resisted, and were capable of making any and all arrests required. But notwithstanding all this, the President, immediately after his proclamation, sent his military into seven or eight counties and made arrests without warrant, and the persons arrested, innocent and guilty, were hurried off to jail and the sacred writ of *habeas corpus* denied them!

In your communication notifying me of my nomination you express an earnest wish for me "at once to enter in a thorough and vigorous canvass to secure my election, which by the Convention is deemed a matter of vital interest, not only to the Congressional District, but to the whole State." In obedience to this injunction, I will, as soon as the court is over at this place, visit all the counties in the Congressional District and extend my acquaintance with the people who have been so kind and confiding. In the meantime I should like to hear from my friends as to appointments they may see proper to make. With great respect and esteem, I am truly and sincerely yours, etc.

B. F. PERRY.

EDITORIALS

Approving of the Nomination of GOVERNOR PERRY for Congress.

The Democratic Convention of the Fourth Congressional District, which assembled in Columbia on Monday, unanimously nominated the Hon. B. F. Perry as the Conservative and Democratic candidate.

To this honorable distinction Mr. Perry is justly entitled. Before the war, and up to the time that the Republican party, by its acts, gave evidence that its purpose was the subversion of the Constitution, and not the restoration of the Union, Mr. Perry was a staunch Union man. After the war he was appointed Provisional Governor of the State, and discharged the delicate duties of his office with tact and discretion. Upon the assembling of the Legislature he was elected United States Senator; but, like Governor Manning and the Hon. James B. Campbell, was refused his seat. At that time the drama of Radical reconstruction was about to begin.

Mr. Perry is a gentleman of large experience in public affairs, and his strong will and high character will make him a fit representative of South Carolina upon the floor of Congress. Nor will the people of his district forget that Mr. Perry, although elected from the Fourth District, will represent the Conservatives of the whole State. From the Radical members we have nothing to expect. Mr. Perry will, in fact, be the mouth-piece of South Carolina Conservatism. A more honorable position no man could desire to fill.

Mr. Perry can be elected and we believe that he will. All that is needed is organization and work. Wallace, the Radical candidate, is notoriously weak, and with

a fair election, which they will have, the Conservatives can defeat him handsomely. The campaign will be short. Let it be sharp and decisive.—*Charleston News.*

The real voice of the intelligence, worth and capital of South Carolina, is to-day without a single representative in the Congressional House. It is without audience or champion. It has no opportunity for truth or vindication. The Fourth District affords that opportunity. On a legitimate vote it can be handsomely carried. With the high character and liberal sentiments of Governor Perry, he should sweep the District by an overwhelming majority. Both wings of the Republican party, which profess to be in earnest for good men and reform, have now the opportunity of testing the sincerity or falsity of their utterances.

Governor Perry is one of the most distinguished members of the South Carolina Bar. In 1832, while quite a young man, he espoused the Union cause, and was one of the leaders of the opposition to Nullification. He was the candidate of the Union party in 1834 for Congress, and was defeated by the Hon. Warren R. Davis, one of the most popular men in the State, by a majority of only sixty votes. From 1836 until the beginning of the late war, Governor Perry served in either branch of the Legislature. Although the consistent advocate of the Union, he always possessed the esteem of all parties as a man of high talents, unswerving principles, sincere convictions, and unquestioned integrity.

At the close of the war he was selected by President Johnson as the Provisional Governor of South Carolina. Since then he has been devoted to the practice of his profession. His election is of the highest interest to the people of this Commonwealth. It is essential for the cause of justice and right, and that South Carolina may at least have one worthy representative in the Halls of Congress.—*Charleston Courier.*

The Convention of the Fourth Congressional District settled upon the Hon. B. F. Perry as the Conservative candidate for Congress. There is, perhaps, no man more generally known throughout the State than ex-Governor Perry, nor one more universally esteemed and respected for sterling qualities of head and heart. His nomination cannot fail to give satisfaction to all good and intelligent citizens of the District, and his election will be a source of rejoicing to the entire State. It will be well for South Carolina to have one true and trusty servant in Congress, and no better man could be selected than B. F. Perry. A man of the purest character, of distinguished ability, and of chivalrous devotion to South Carolina, he will be as a pillar of strength to us at Washington.

The only cause of regret at his nomination rests in the fact that we will lose his services as State Senator from Greenville, for which position he has been nominated. We trust that the people of Greenville will give us their next best man at any rate. As to availability, we also think that no better choice could possibly have been made. Governor Perry has always been liberal in his political views, and never much of a party man. As opposed to A. S. Wallace, the Radical nominee, he cannot fail to get the vote of every decent citizen in the Fourth District, who has sense sufficient to appreciate his duty to the State.—*Columbia Phoenix*.

The Fourth Congressional District has it in its power to defeat Mr. Wallace, the Radical nominee, and to send to Congress a worthy representative of the white element of the State.

It is a duty which the District owes to itself and the State to effect this result. It is thought that ex-Governor B. F. Perry will accept the nomination which has been tendered to him by the recent Democratic Convention of the Fourth District. He is eminently fitted for the post. Ex-Governor Perry has, perhaps, more of a

national reputation than any other South Carolinian—Judge Orr excepted. He is known to be a man of the highest integrity. He has an imposing presence and an impressive delivery. Such a man would command the attention of the House. The cause of this outraged State would find in him a noble champion. Assuming that he will accept the nomination, we take occasion to say that we deem it the duty of the Fourth District to use every legitimate effort to secure ex-Governor Perry's election.

Let a generous and a general rally be made in this behalf. Nor let the ex-Governor himself fail to do his part in the canvass.—*Columbia Carolinian*.

The Convention of the Fourth Congressional District, which met in Columbia on the 9th ult., unanimously nominated, as a candidate for Congress, the Hon. B. F. Perry, of Greenville, one of the most distinguished citizens of the State, and a gentleman of unblemished reputation. Mr. Perry is well known throughout the Congressional District, and his name is familiar to nearly every household in South Carolina. In him we find everything to admire—talents, morals, dignity, courage, consistency of conduct, and, in fact, all those attributes that adorn and beautify human character. Through a long series of years he has served with great fidelity his native State, and has contributed no little towards establishing for her a fame and record that will be the proud heritage of future generations.

Prior to the war, Governor Perry was identified with an element that opposed the nullification and secession doctrines of Mr. Calhoun, and deprecated any movement looking towards a disruption of the Union. But when the people of the State declared their intention to withdraw from the Union, he went with his people, though under protest, believing that so extraordinary a step would end disastrously. No one has been more fervent in devotion to South Carolina, in her troubles

and trials, than Governor Perry. He has often been weighed in the balance, and never found wanting. Cool, deliberate, sagacious, and of wonderful foresight, he has stood ever nobly by the old ship of State, as one of her most trustworthy pilots, and it is eminently proper that at this crisis he should be called from private life and receive new honors and renewed evidences of the confidence reposed in him.

It is the duty of our people to see to it that so great and so good a man is chosen to represent them. He can be triumphantly elected in a fair contest, and such we are determined to have. Honest men of Fairfield, we appeal to you to pull off your coats, and go to work for our noble standard bearer.—*Winnsboro' News*.

GOV. B. F. PERRY.—This distinguished old Roman has been unanimously nominated as a candidate to represent the Fourth District in Congress, which is now misrepresented by the scalawag A. S. Wallace. We confess we regret the action of the Convention, as we are satisfied that he can do his people more good in the State Senate than in any other position. His purity and boldness of character would be a standing rebuke to the Treasury thieves, and his very presence there would measurably stay the hands of the robbers. Governor Perry is worthy of any and all the honors the State can confer upon him, and as we cannot have him in the State Senate, we trust and believe he will be triumphantly elected to Congress.—*Georgetown Times*.

The Convention that met in Columbia on the 9th inst., nominated the Hon. B. F. Perry for Congress. In our judgment no better nomination could have been made. In some things of importance we have differed from Mr. Perry, and we still differ, but we have never entertained a doubt of his honesty, his ability, or his experienced statesmanship. In addition, he is a man of undoubted courage, and anywhere and everywhere, if

the occasion demand, he will express himself honestly and fearlessly. The Convention advised that each county enter upon the prescribed form for obtaining supervisors of the election. This is well and wise. Let us now go into the canvass with a determination to win. If we do our duty we are certain of the victory, and the State will receive the benefit of Mr. Perry's services in the next Congress.—*Laurens Herald*.

The unanimous nomination for Congress of ex-Governor B. F. Perry, by the Democratic Convention of the Fourth Congressional District, derives its significance from the fact that this is the only one of the Congressional Districts which will likely send a true representative of the intelligence, education and worth of the State to Congress. We rejoice, then, that we will likely have one true representative from South Carolina in the National councils, who will raise an indignant protest against the injustice which has turned over the white population of the State to the tender mercies of the scalawag, the carpet-bagger and the freedman.

A more eligible candidate than Governor Perry, or one who will more likely draw out the conservative strength, could not have been selected. Of high character, large experience, distinguished abilities, and a consistent Union record, he will likely sweep the District by an overwhelming vote.—*Abbeville Press and Banner*.

At the convention of the Fourth Congressional District, held in Columbia on Monday, 9th inst., the Hon. B. F. Perry was unanimously selected as the Conservative candidate to represent the people of the District in Congress.

We feel confident that no man could have been selected who would be more acceptable to the true and honest people of the District than Major Perry, and we have no doubt of his election. He is eminently a representative man, and will honor the position and the

people he represents. His pure, moral character, undoubted abilities, long experience as a statesman, boldness and persistency in defending the right and opposing the wrong, which even his opponents are compelled to acknowledge, makes him a power of strength as our standard bearer, and a terror to the venal and corrupt usurper who opposes him. If any man in this Congressional District can unite the votes of all the honest and true people, that man is Major Perry.—*Union Times*.

The New York *World* penned the tribute below to Governor Perry, under the impression that he had been elected to a seat in Congress from this District, and although he should have enjoyed that distinction, he was allowed to suffer defeat through the indifference of the white voters and cheating of Radicals:

"EX-GOVERNOR PERRY.—The returns of the South Carolina election indicate the cheering fact that ex-Governor Perry, the anti-Radical nominee for Congress, in the Fourth District, is elected. The Radical majority in this District at the last Congressional election was 3,304, and if Mr. Perry be really successful there is double reason for congratulation: first, that we are to have for the first time since 1860 an honest man and a gentleman in Congress from South Carolina; and second, that as the same causes operating in his district must have been at work in the others, the disintegration of the Radical party throughout the State has fairly begun. So long as it stood intact, dominating unfortunate South Carolina to its remotest corner with an unbroken negro majority of 30,000, there was no chance for such a man as ex-Governor Perry; and yet of all men he should have represented the State, and could, in representing it, have been most acceptable to the North. Alone, with we believe but one exception among the public men of the Palmetto State, he withstood secession, and it is yet a remembrance in many

men's minds how dauntlessly he championed the cause of the Union at a time when that sort of advocacy involved not alone contumely and insult, but the wrenching away of oneself from one's own people. As the Governor would rise to plead even *in extremis* against secession, the sneer and scowl ran round the chamber, and more than once upon adjournment of the convention's daily session the boys and riff-raff of the galleries threw fruit-rinds and nut-shells and other refuse on the one man who forbade a unanimous secession. On the triumph of the Union cause it seems as if this man should have had some recognition of his devotion, but the reconstruction scheme of Congress trampled him down in the mire under the negro's foot as remorselessly as it did General Wade Hampton and Senator Chestnut. It is only by 'rebel' votes that South Carolina's greatest Unionist seems assured a seat in Congress to-day."

GOV. PERRY'S ADDRESS

TO HIS CONSTITUENCY.

To the Democratic and Conservative Voters of the Fourth Congressional District of South Carolina, comprising the counties of York, Chester, Fairfield, Union, Spartanburg, Laurens, Greenville, Pickens and Oconee.

FELLOW-CITIZENS :—I desire to address a few words to you on the result of the late Congressional election. So far as I am personally concerned, I have no regrets to express. When I accepted your nomination, which was unsolicited and unexpected, I had no strong hopes of success, knowing, as I did, that the Radical party was in the ascendancy, and would not scruple at any fraud and corruption necessary to maintain their power in the Congressional District. My health, age and disinclination to enter public life again would have been a reasonable justification in refusing the honor you conferred on me. But I thought it a duty every good citizen owed his country, under the present alarming condition of public affairs, to accept any position which might be assigned him by the people.

The canvass through which I have just passed was a very short one, and I entered it actively and zealously. I may further say, that it was both pleasant and agreeable, and I enjoyed it exceedingly. In passing through the Congressional District, I met many of my old and valued friends, whom I had not seen for years, and I made a great many new friends, whom I shall ever remember, and never cease to value whilst life lasts. Everywhere my reception was most kind and

cordial, and fully compensates me for all the time and trouble of the canvass. But although I do not regret personally, as I have said, our disappointment, yet, as a citizen of South Carolina, I do regret, lament and deplore the success of the Radical party throughout the State, in the recent election for Congress and State officers. It seems to indicate that there is to be no change in the present corrupt, oppressive and infamously rotten State Government, or hope of representation for the white people of South Carolina in the Congress of the United States. Sixty thousand voters, representing nearly 300,000 persons, owning, in a great measure, all the property of the State, agricultural, commercial and manufacturing, and comprising in the same ratio all the intelligence, education, virtue and patriotism of the State, are without the semblance of representation in a government purporting to be republican.

The State Government has, confessedly, fallen into the hands of rogues, swindlers and corrupt men, who have openly plundered the public Treasury, robbed the people, forged State bonds, increased the indebtedness of the State \$27,000,000 in four years, levied and collected intolerable taxes, and enriched themselves by the most bare-faced bribery and corruption, as well as by arrant roguery and plunder. And yet the result of the recent election shows that these rogues, swindlers and robbers are to be reinstated in authority for two years to come, with *carte blanche* to rob, steal and plunder *ad libitum*.

It is sad and melancholy to think that the honest, patriotic and virtuous white people of South Carolina are in some measure responsible for this horrible and appalling condition of public affairs. In many counties they did not turn out to vote on the day of election. Can human weakness and human apathy exceed this? The negro, carpet-baggers and scalawags turned out, almost to a man. Is it not passing strange that the stupid negroes should feel more interest and manifest more zeal in sustaining a corrupt, rotten government,

and electing to office rogues and scoundrels, who do not benefit him in the least, than an educated, intelligent and patriotic gentleman does in trying to overturn such a government and put honest men in office, as legislators, governors, senators, judges, etc.? He sees the corruption, feels the hand of the oppressor, and bears the crushing burden of his taxes, and yet will not go from his house to vote for a change in rulers or government. It may be well said, there is no accounting for human conduct.

I know that the negroes are banded together, as a race, under the lead of vile carpet-baggers and infamous scalawags, who would as quickly sell their God for thirty pieces of silver as they have betrayed their race and country for office, promotion and the hope of stealing, swindling and plundering. But, notwithstanding this antagonism to the white people, I know that an influence might be brought to bear on them which they could not resist, if the property-holders of the State were so disposed. Chief Justice Chase said to me in 1868, that we need not apprehend any difficulty in controlling the negro vote in South Carolina. "Brains and property," said he, "will always control labor." I replied this might be, if it were not for the carpet-baggers. He said the carpet-baggers would soon become identified with the citizens or leave the country.

But the carpet-bagger in South Carolina, instead of leaving the country, or identifying himself with the people, has become, with the scalawag, through their influence over the negro, a sort of aristocrat or autocrat and tribune of the colored race. Now, we must get rid of these autocrats and tribunes. We must dethrone them and break their sceptre by destroying their influence over the negro. This can only be done by teaching the negro that he is dependent on us, and not we on him.

There is another matter which I wish to bring to your view and consideration. Franklin J. Moses, Gov-

ernor elect, and all the leading members elected to the Legislature, with the State officials, declared most solemnly before the election that they would repudiate all the fraudulent State debt and forged bonds, and reduce the taxes levied on the people. You may be confiding enough to believe this. I do not believe one word of it. I think it is done for the purpose of deceiving the people, and levying black mail on the bondholders. Mark what I tell you. The bondholders will contribute \$200,000 or \$300,000, and bribe the Governor and Legislature to pay the interest on the fraudulent debt and forged bonds.

Already Mr. Gary has been dismissed from the State Auditorship because he would not consent to order the collection of taxes for this purpose. His place has been filled by Governor Scott with a man who ought to be in the penitentiary instead of a high and honorable office. Now, what is to be done? The payment of these taxes is simple robbery—nothing more, nothing less. My advice to the people of South Carolina is, to refuse positively and unanimously. Let us pay all taxes necessary to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, but not a cent for this fraudulent debt, either principal or interest.

I will mention to you that I have heard of great frauds in the election. It is said that hundreds of North Carolina negroes, at work on the Air-Line Railroad, who had not been in the State twelve months, voted in several counties. It is further said that hundreds under twenty-one years of age likewise voted all over the Congressional District. And it is likewise rumored that gross frauds were practised at several places in Laurens, by refusing to open the polls at the proper time, and throwing out a large number of Democratic votes at Clinton. These matters are for future investigation. In conclusion, I return you, who went to the polls and voted, my most grateful thanks; and to such as were too indifferent to turn out at the

election, I can only say that I hope you will never be so apathetic again.

THE ANCIENTS AND THE MODERNS.

A COMPARISON.

Lecture before the CHERAW LYCEUM, South Carolina, June 2, 1876.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CHERAW LYCEUM:—In appearing before you this evening, I feel a great apprehension of disappointing your expectations. My life having been spent at the bar and in politics, and making no pretensions to science or literature, I am conscious of my inability to give you a lecture worthy of your learning and the reputation of your Society.

THE LYCEUM.

The Lyceum was first established by Aristotle, in the shady groves of Illissis, near the city of Athens. There the young men of Greece assembled to hear the stagarile discourse on Philosophy, in all its branches, comprising Ethics, Logic, Politics, Natural History, Astronomy and Religion. I am the merest smatterer in all these branches of human knowledge, and inferior to those whom I have been called upon to lecture. But in your kind invitation you generously extended to me the privilege of selecting the subject of my address. You did like a learned judge told me, was his habit in the circuit of sending to "mine host" for a book to read. He never indicated what kind of book he wished. This he left entirely to the selection of his host, whilst he amused himself by seeing what kind of book was sent.

Let me first congratulate you, gentlemen, on the suc-

cess of your Lyceum. You have already celebrated its twentieth anniversary. This speaks well for your literary taste, sociability, and love of learning. It would be well if your praiseworthy example were followed in all the towns and villages of the State. It would do much to improve and elevate the tone of our literature and sociability, as fellow-citizens of a once proud and noble commonwealth. Society in South Carolina has been greatly demoralized since our reconstruction as a State, under the degrading, oppressive, and unconstitutional legislation of the Congress of the United States. But I do not despair of the restoration of the ancient honor and proud fame of the old Palmetto State. Literary clubs and the interchange of lectures will greatly promote this most desirable result. Men are bolder, more improving, and more aggressive when united than when acting separately.

THE ANCIENTS AND MODERNS.

The subject of my lecture this evening, gentlemen, will be a comparison between "The Ancients and the Moderns," in literature, science, and the æsthetic arts; religion, philosophy, government, and useful improvements, manners and customs. In selecting so wide a range for my discourse, I must necessarily be brief in all my comparisons, and my lecture will hence be most imperfect. It would require volumes instead of a lecture, to do justice to this great subject. Moreover, it would require vastly more of learning and research than I possess to handle the subject properly. But whilst a general outline is much easier, and requires less learning than a full and minute comparison, it may likewise be more interesting to my hearers.

What is "ancient" and what is "modern" might be an embarrassing division, if we accepted the new theory of evolution and progressive development, which teaches that this world has existed for countless millions of ages, and that man is the descendant of the monkey,

and the monkey again the descendant, through many changes, of a still inferior species of creation. But I will not dive into this strange and dark mystery, promulgated by these modern scientists, for my divisions between the ancients and the moderns. I prefer the historical classification, which sets down Egypt, Africa, Greece, Rome, Persia, China and Hindoostan as ancients, and the present kingdoms of Europe and the Republics of America as modern.

The existence of man on this earth I will not undertake to solve. Whether he has been here six thousand years, or six hundred thousand, I will not pretend to say. But geneological history, which cannot lie, teaches us that this earth has existed centuries beyond our historical era, and that birds and animals did then exist on the earth. Their foot-prints are still visible.

HUMAN NATURE THE SAME IN ALL AGES.

History teaches us that man, so far back as we can trace him, in ancient times, has been the same creature that he is now, in shape and form, as well as in intellect and passions. War, religion and love have been his grand characteristics in all ages and countries, whether savage or civilized. In this respect there is no difference between the ancients and moderns, or between civilization and barbarism. Fighting, praying, and making love, have gone on and will go on to the end of man's existence, unless the theory of gradual development is true, and he becomes, in the course of time, a higher and better order of being, more noble and more wise, less revengeful and less excitable. It is remarkable that notwithstanding Christianity and the higher civilization of modern times, man's passion for war has not subsided. The religion of Christ teaches peace and good will on earth to all mankind. Almost all the civilized nations of modern times have adopted the holy faith and precepts of Christianity, and yet they seem as eager to go to war and destroy each other as the heathen

and barbarian did in the remotest antiquity. How is this to be accounted for, except on the ground that man's nature is the same that it always has been, as well as his shape and form of being? Neither Christianity nor a higher order of civilization has been able to alter or change it.

But although human nature is and always has been the same, yet there are no two persons, in the countless millions who have lived on this globe, who were exactly alike, mentally, morally and physically. There are shades and marked differences between them. And so it has been with the nations of the earth. The Romans, Grecians, Egyptians and Persians were very unlike in many of their national traits of character. So, too, with the modern nations of Europe, Asia, Africa and America. There are noticeable traits of distinction between the French and English, between the Germans and Russians, and between the Italians and Spaniards.

RELIGION.

In my comparison between the ancient and modern civilized nations of the earth, I shall begin with their religion, which is the first marked and most important characteristic of the two periods. There is no people, however debased and ignorant they may be, without religion of some kind. It seems to be an instinct of the human heart, and a part of our nature, like that of hunger, thirst, or any other desire. The Rationalists of the French Revolution attempted to abolish all religion. They might as well have attempted to abolish, by an edict, human nature itself! Bonaparte was wiser than all the rational philosophy of France, and knowing that no people could exist without religion, he made haste to restore the ancient religious faith of the French nation.

The religion of the ancient Egyptians, Grecians, Romans, Carthaginians, and all the Eastern nations, was gross, demoralizing, and most absurd. Their gods and goddesses, whom they most devoutly worshiped, were

represented as deceitful, cruel, lustful, and full of the basest passions of human nature. The greatest and best of them were drawn from the characters of men and women, and very bad men and women too! No nation of antiquity seems to have had any clear and distinct idea or belief of a future state, or the immortality of the soul. Even the Hebrews, who worshiped the true and living God, the great Creator of Heaven and Earth, and all that composes this world, were blind as to the future, and did not look clearly and distinctly beyond this life. Their rewards and punishments were of this world. Socrates, it is true, taught the Athenians the immortality of the soul, and was executed for his impiety! His argument on this subject, as given by Plato in his *Phædo*, though celebrated, must appear to the Christian believer as feeble and inconclusive. Amongst the Romans, Cicero and Cæsar expressed some doubts whether there might not be a future state. The transmigration of souls, absurd as it is, was a much more general belief with the ancients. There was something in the human heart which told them that there ought to be some punishment hereafter for the wicked who prospered in this life.

In regard to religion, how infinitely superior are the modern Christian nations of Europe and America to the ancient heathen nations. How different is the pure morality and teachings of Christ, compared with the gross superstition of the Grecians and Romans, who were the most enlightened of all the ancients. How far below Christianity was their philosophy and morals. How so refined and intellectual a people as the ancient Grecians were, could have tolerated a superstition so absurd, is passing strange. But the early teachings of childhood and constant practice may make the human mind believe anything. The Turk and the Arab believe as firmly in the Koran, as the Christian does in the Bible. The Hindoo and the African are as sincere in their belief of Buddhism

and Feticism as any worshipers are in their belief of Christianity.

SCULPTURE.

In all the æsthetic arts, the ancient Hellenes or Grecians were greatly superior to any modern nation. They had more genius, more taste, and a greater love of the beautiful in nature. Modern sculpture, with all the influences of a purer religion and higher civilization, is not equal to the divine statuary of Phidias, Praxitiles and Cleomanes. The Olympian Jupiter, and the Athena or Minerva of Phidias surpassed all statues of ancient or modern art in grace, beauty, purity and grandeur. The latter was carved in gold and ivory. The statue of the Cuidion Aphrodite or Venus by Praxitiles, was never equaled in representing the softer beauties of the human form, and was a masterpiece of the sensual charms. The statue of Venus de Medici was the work of Cleomenes, at a later period of Grecian history. This great work of genius, so celebrated for its beauty and symmetry in marble, has come down to modern times, and speaks for itself. But the Olympian Jupiter, and Athena of Phidias are lost, as well as the Aphrodite of Praxitiles. But some of their sculpture has been preserved, and enough to show their wonderful genius.

PAINTING.

In painting, the Grecian Appelles stands unrivalled in history as an artist. His magnificent representation of Venus rising from the foam of the sea, was the admiration of both the Grecian and Roman world. It came into the possession of Augustus Cæsar, and was destroyed by time and exposure. His likeness of Alexander the Great, holding a thunderbolt in his hand, sold for two hundred thousand dollars. The Romans seemed to have been deficient in this beautiful art, and produced no great painter.

POETRY.

In poetry, the Grecians again are fairly entitled to superiority over the moderns. Homer stands prominent as an epic poet. Neither Virgil, Milton, nor Dante can approach him in grandeur and sublimity. His existence is a myth, and his poems a learned prodigy. He is supposed to have lived eight hundred or a thousand years before the birth of Christ. There is a doubt with some learned antiquarians whether the Grecians had even a written language during the Homeric era. And yet his language is artistic, beautiful and perfect. It is wonderful that the *Illiad* and *Odyssey* should have been the production of so remote a period, and of a people so uncultivated as the Grecians then were. It proves that poetical genius requires no adventitious circumstances to immortalize itself. This was shown again in modern times by the Ayrshire ploughman. All the mighty geniuses who have succeeded Homer through the highest civilization and the most polished and refined ages for three thousand years, have never been able to equal him in an epic or heroic poem. No one who reads Homer in English can form a just idea of his versification and the beauty and grandeur of his thoughts. The fire and sublimity of his genius are lost in a translation.

THE DRAMA.

The drama, too, was carried to its highest perfection in Athens, four or five hundred years after Homer, by *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*. No dramatic poets of modern times have ever surpassed them. *Shakespeare*, *Corneille* and *Racine* may be compared to them, but in the artistic perfection of the drama were not their equals. But, as the great master of human nature and human passions, *Shakespeare* was greatly their superior. No poet has ever equaled him in that line. His dramas and the Bible are the best books anyone can read.

It is remarkable that although the Grecians brought

the drama to perfection so far as language and artistic skill were concerned, yet they never thought of introducing female actresses on the stage. This great improvement of the theatre was not made by the moderns till the reign of Charles the Second of England. Whilst *bearded* men were performing the parts of queens, princesses and ladies, just after the marriage of Charles to Catharine of Braganza, a good theatrical joke is told, which may have suggested the change. The Portugal princess brought with her to England a long train of attendants, and amongst them one who was styled "the Queen's Barber." What his specialty was, excited some curiosity amongst the gay courtiers. One night at the theatre there was a great delay in the commencement of the performance. The audience became impatient and made strong demonstrations. A manager came forward and begged them to be patient as the delay was occasioned by having to shave the queen before she would make her appearance on the boards.

By the introduction of females on the stage the moderns have achieved a great advantage over the ancients. In fact, this now gives the theatre its greatest attraction. How repugnant to our feelings would it be to see the parts of Juliet and Ophelia acted by the male sex. It would in a great measure destroy our interest in those plays.

ORATORS.

In oratory, the ancients had Demosthenes and Cicero, who have never been equaled by the moderns. It is needless to say that the orations of Demosthenes are perfect in the original. They are susceptible of no improvement in language, reasoning or eloquence. Edmund Burke's speeches are more brilliant and Chatham's more ostentatious, but they both lack the beauty, simplicity, and power of Demosthenes. Sir James Mackintosh has said that Charles James Fox "was the most Demosthenean speaker since Demosthenes. He certainly

possessed above all moderns that union of reason, simplicity and vehemence which formed the prince of orators." Cicero was a very different orator from Demosthenes, as different as the Romans were from the Grecians. Demosthenes was purely intellectual, whilst Cicero was beautiful and ornate. The mind of the one was full of genius, and that of the other filled with learning and philosophy. Mr. Calhoun was an illustration of the Grecian, and Edward Everett of the Roman. Great orators must have great occasions to call forth their eloquence. These occurrences have produced them in France, England and America, but none equal to Demosthenes and Cicero.

HISTORIANS.

In the department of History, the moderns have no wish to equal Herodotus and Plutarch in interest and beauty, or Thucydides in philosophical terseness and perfection of style. Hume and Voltaire may approach in some measure in style, and Gibbon, Robertson, Bancroft, Motley and Prescott, may equal in research and accuracy, but they are all still inferior. Grote's history of Greece is the greatest history of modern times, and deserves to have been written by a Grecian instead of an English banker. He was the prince of Democrats, and most nobly has he defended the Democracy of Athens. Xenophon, Polybius, Livy and Tacitus, are histories of great merit, but have been equaled by the moderns.

MILITARY HEROES.

In war, the heroic courage displayed by the Grecians at Thermopylæ, Marathon, Platæ and Salamis, cannot be surpassed. But it is impossible to award the palm of courage to ancients or moderns, where both have shown, in thousands of battles, the highest courage of which man is capable. For centuries Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar were regarded as the greatest

generals the world had ever produced. In the eighteenth century, the French Revolution produced a greater than either of them, in Napoleon Bonaparte. Alexander and Cæsar conquered half-civilized and effete nations. Napoleon subdued, with greatly inferior forces, the most civilized and warlike kingdoms and empires of Europe. He was still greater in statesmanship than either the Grecian or Roman. It is hard to believe that a greater intellect than Napoleon Bonaparte's was ever embodied in man. But his character was altogether imperfect. He was not only selfish and ambitious, but he regarded nothing in morals, religion, or justice, which stood in the way of his success. How totally different, in this respect, were Washington, William, Prince of Orange, and General Lee of the Confederate army. In all history, ancient or modern, three nobler characters cannot be produced. They were grand in all the moral, intellectual and patriotic elements of greatness, as well as in the science of war.

PHYSICAL SCIENCE.

In Physical Science and the mechanical arts, the moderns are greatly superior to the ancients. The Grecians, Romans, Egyptians and all the nations of antiquity were totally ignorant of the true planetary system. They believed that the earth stood in the centre of the world, and that the sun and planets revolved around it. This belief was universal till the fifteenth century, when Copernicus first promulgated the true theory, that the sun was in the centre of our system; that the earth, revolving on its axis daily, went round the sun once in twelve months. This theory was so startling, that even in the next century, Gallileo was arraigned before the Pontifical authorities in Rome for teaching it, and made to swear on his bended knees that he would no more promulgate such heretical doctrines. But on rising up, he could not resist saying in an undertone, "*E pur si muore*"—it moves for all that.

The telescope is a modern invention, and was wholly unknown to the ancient astronomers. The Chaldeans, Egyptians, Assyrians and all the Eastern nations were very much given to the study of astronomy, and observing all the signs of the heavens. They slept on the tops of their houses and contemplated the stars. They studied the course of the planets and gave them names. But what progress could the wisest of them make in this sublime science without the modern telescope? With this great instrument the moderns have discovered new planets and even told where planets should be before they were seen. We now know certainly that the fixed stars, which the ancients regarded as very small bodies compared to the sun and moon, are larger than the sun, and are illuminating other worlds, as our sun illuminates this world. The comets, whose appearance filled the ancients with awe and great terror, are now well understood and their returns calculated with certainty. By means of the spectroscope, another wonderful invention of recent time, we are enabled to tell the substances of all the heavenly bodies by their light. The sun, instead of being a flame or gaseous light, is found to be a substance not very dissimilar to the earth.

PHILOSOPHY.

In philosophy or metaphysics, as distinct from science, the Grecians were far ahead of all their contemporaries. Their most illustrious names adorn this branch of human learning. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, besides a host of others, were teachers of philosophy and morals at Athens. But how inferior were they all to the moderns in morals. In this respect, Christianity has given the moderns their great superiority over the ancient heathens. Socrates, who taught the immortality of the soul, laid down rules for the successful seduction of women. Aristotle, the greatest intellect of antiquity, inculcated the doctrine that it was right to practice infanticide where the parents were poor and

unable to support their offspring. Plato, in his Republic, boldly proclaims a community of wives as a fundamental law of the state. The bare mention of such doctrines which were prevalent in Greece and Rome, the most highly cultivated and intellectual of the ancients, must shock modern humanity and refinement. In Sparta, the public authorities took charge of the unnatural and horrible crime of infanticide, and relieved the parents of murdering their own children by doing it themselves. Where there was any parental feeling left, the infant was exposed under the hope that the sight of it perishing might appeal to an emotion in the breast of a stranger which was lost in the parent.

How much better would it have been for the legislators of Greece and Rome to have enacted the Turkish law which requires the parties to show that they are able to support their offspring before they are allowed to marry. Indeed there is great wisdom and humanity in such a law, and it would prevent untold misery and wretchedness. No doubt it would be a very unpopular one with the thoughtless and reckless young men and women everywhere.

NAVIGATION.

The mariner's compass was unknown to the Grecians, Romans, Carthaginians and Phœnicians, who were the most enterprising and successful navigators of the ocean. Their voyages were short, and pretty much confined to the Mediterranean and Red Seas and the wastes of Europe and Africa. Herodotus, however, mentions a voyage around the whole continent of Africa which did not gain credence. These navigators stated one fact which proves that their voyage may have been made, and which satisfied the Grecians that the whole story was a fable. They said they sailed till the sun appeared in the north! This, of course, was the case as soon as they crossed the line. When the magnetic needle was first used is unknown to the world. The honor has

been claimed for Floria Groja about the beginning of the fourteenth century. But it is certain that something of the kind was known to the Chinese long anterior to that period. Although the properties and uses of the magnet have been known for centuries throughout the civilized world, its attraction, like gravitation, is still a mystery, and perhaps will remain so forever.

LITERATURE.

The ancients had great difficulties to encounter and overcome in literature. Their books were all copied with a pen. The art of printing was unknown to them. It is most remarkable that this great invention, and so necessary to a literary people, should not have been made by the Grecians and Romans. That a people so full of genius and intellect, so distinguished for their invention and love of the fine arts as the Athenians were, should have failed to make this discovery, is indeed most wonderful and unaccountable. Seals and signets and stamps were not only in use amongst the Grecians and Romans, but amongst the Assyrians, Egyptians and Hebrews. Even their bricks were impressed with characters stamped in the clay, and yet they never thought of copying these characters. It would seem that the labor and expense of copying so many books as were then in use, would have insured the invention of printing by movable type. Necessity, it is said, is the mother of invention. When the Southern planters began to grow cotton, their first thought was to invent some machinery for separating the seed from the lint, without this, cotton was of little value. Mrs. General Green suggested to Mr. Forsyth, of Georgia, who was on a visit to her, and was lamenting the difficulty of getting the cotton-lint separated from the seed, that there was in her house a very ingenious young man, who could perhaps invent some machine for that purpose. Whitney was called, and he immediately set to work and made the cotton-gin.

The Chinese, from their earliest history, did print books on engraved blocks, but it was reserved for the fifteenth century to make this most important invention of printing with movable type. Coster, a citizen of Haarlem, in Holland, first used movable type made of wood, tin and lead, in 1423. Faust, in 1450, used metallic type, cast in plaster moulds. The libraries of the ancients, when all their books had to be copied with a pen, must have been very limited. This is pretty well proven by the private libraries found in the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum. The expense and labor of copying books before printing was discovered, may have had the good effect of preventing so many trifling works being thrown on the public, as the moderns have every month, week and day in the year.

The ancients did not have that pleasure which the moderns enjoy so much, of reading the daily newspapers every morning containing the stirring events of the preceding day all over the world. The Romans had a sort of substitute for our newspapers in their *acta diurna*, which were daily written reports of public occurrences. The English had, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, something of the kind, in written "News Letters," ballads and pamphlets, furnished the court and aristocracy. But the first printed newspaper was published in Germany in 1662. There was one published in Italy about the same time. Who can estimate the thousands now published all over the world, or the enjoyment they afford the reading community in every civilized nation? The newspaper in modern times, by making information general, has destroyed, in a great measure, the power and influence of the ancient orator, in swaying for good or evil, the masses of his fellow-citizens.

INVENTIONS AND DISCOVERIES.

It is likewise surprising that the utilization of steam was not discovered by the ancients. The power of

steam must have been known to them; they saw it in boiling their daily food, but they never attempted to use it in any way. This was not done by the moderns with all their science and learning till the eighteenth century. The application of steam to navigation, railroads and the mechanic arts, has revolutionized the world in commerce, travelling and machinery. Our advantages over the ancients in this respect cannot be over-estimated; it enables us to go around this globe in eighty-five days. The commerce of the most distant nations can now be exchanged in a few weeks. The successful application of steam to navigation is due to an American, Robert Fulton, and the first railway projected in the world to be *exclusively* run by the steam engine was the Charleston and Hamburg railroad; when finished it was also the longest railway in the world.

That the Grecians and Romans should not have invented the electric telegraph as a means of communication is not so remarkable. The wonder is that it should ever have been invented at all. It would seem an impossibility for a circumstance happening in London to be transmitted across the Atlantic ocean in a few minutes and be known all over the world in a few hours. The consequence is, that the whole civilized world is made, as it were, one community. This, too, is an invention perfected by an American, Samuel Finley Breese Morse. It is certainly the most extraordinary invention that has ever been made, and the inventor has been honored and rewarded by every kingdom and empire in Europe. Franklin, another American citizen, had previously immortalized his name by drawing lightning from the clouds and making its properties familiar to science.

Gunpowder was unknown to the Grecians and Romans. The Hindoos are said to have used it in battle at a very early period, and by means of it to have repulsed Alexander the Great, but this is somewhat

doubtful. The composition of gunpowder was first made known by Roger Bacon in 1270. He says, charcoal, sulphur and saltpetre when mixed and well pounded will produce an explosion, and was used for the amusement of children. But not till the fourteenth century was its uses as a powerful destructive in war generally made known. It may be a question whether it has not preserved more lives in battle than it has destroyed; certainly more combatants were killed in battle in ancient than in modern times, in proportion to the numbers engaged. The warriors in ancient times met in close combat and retreat was very difficult. In consequence of the use of cannons and small fire-arms the moderns are enabled to fight at a more respectful distance and can retreat when beaten. With the Grecians and Romans, and all ancient nations, physical strength had a great deal to do in gaining the victory; fire-arms put all upon an equality.

MEDICINE.

In the science of medicine the ancients were far behind the moderns, although they produced Hypocrates, Galen and Celsus, and made the healing art a science. Before their time medicine and superstition were united, and heathen priests were the doctors. During the dark ages, the Christian priest once more became a doctor, and professed to cure the body as well as the soul. At the same time the village barber was also the village surgeon. But the discoveries which have been made in medicine and its cognate sciences with the study of anatomy, which was neglected by the Grecians and Romans, and the discovery of the circulation of the blood in the human system, have placed the modern practitioners immeasurably beyond the ancients. It is said that Aristotle came very near discovering the circulation of the blood, but it was left to be made two thousand years afterwards by an Englishman, Harvey.

AGRICULTURE.

The Romans seem to have paid more attention to agriculture than any of the ancient nations. They devoted themselves to war and agriculture, whilst the Grecians paid more attention to architecture and commerce. Attica was a land of cities, towns, villages, houses, temples, monuments and statuary. The lands of the Romans were divided into very small farms. They were well manured, well cultivated, and very productive. Their great men, their generals and statesmen in the days of the Republic, were all farmers. Commerce they seemed to spurn as beneath the dignity of a Roman gentleman. Composting, and draining and irrigating were well understood and practised. They wrote a great deal on agriculture, and the works of Cato, Varro, Virgil, Colamello, Pliny and others have come down to modern times. The Egyptians, too, must have been good agriculturists, or they could not have supported their very dense population. Greece derived from Egypt her knowledge of agriculture, as she did almost all of her early civilization. The lands of Egypt are said to have produced a hundred fold, and were the granary, in time of scarcity, for all the neighboring nations.

But the moderns are far ahead of the ancients in this most important of all branches of human industry. The improvements and discoveries in science and the mechanical arts have given them this superiority. All the implements of husbandry have been greatly improved, and labor-saving machines invented. It is said the Greeks left their agriculture in the hands of their slaves, and hence it did not flourish. The Romans, in the days of their conquests, pride and luxury, committed the same error, and their agriculture began to decline. Would it not be well for the Southern people to profit by their experience.

ARCHITECTURE.

In architecture the ancients were superior to the moderns for the beauty, simplicity and grandeur of their public buildings. The Parthenon of Athens and the Pantheon of Rome have never been equaled for their pure classic taste. For grandeur and massiveness the Pyramids of Egypt are still the wonder and admiration of the world, after an existence of certainly more than four or five thousand years. No people ever surpassed the Athenians in their taste for architecture. There seemed to be something in their climate and soil, as well as in their race, which made them beautiful and refined, and lovers of beauty in nature and art. Their men and women were remarkable for their form, symmetry and spirituality. They were the models of their divine statuary. It is not surprising then that such a people should have been pre-eminent as architects, builders and sculptors.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

In manners and customs the ancients and moderns differed widely in many respects. We think we are greatly superior to them in this respect, and no doubt if they would rise up and be in existence once more they would be horrified at such an expression. There is perhaps no correct standard for judging of manners and customs, dress and fashions. Every people in their early history are characterized by simplicity, plain living, rough manners and homely dress. As they advance in civilization and wealth their manners become more refined, their mode of living more luxurious, and their dress more costly. It was so in Greece and Rome, and has been the same in England and America. The Grecians in the age of Pericles were as different from their ancestors in the time of Homer and Hesiod, as the English now are from the painted Britons whom Julius Cæsar conquered. It was well said a few years since at

the annual celebration of the New England Society in New York, that if their plain ancestors could rise up and see the present fashions and luxuries of New England, especially of the ladies, they would disown them as their descendants.

THE LOVE OF DRESS.

The love of the beautiful and graceful in dress, ornament and fashion, amongst the Grecian and Roman ladies in the days of their wealth and refinement, was not national, but natural to the sex in both ancient and modern times. There is no people, however rude and savage, amongst whom this feeling may not be discovered. Even in Africa, where there is no dress at all, the girls have their faces, arms and bodies tattooed to make them appear beautiful. This passion was well understood by the great moralist of England when he said, a school miss was just as proud of a new calico dress as the greatest orator was, after making an eloquent and successful speech before an applauding senate.

But this love of dress is not confined to one sex alone. Aristotle, whose genius pervaded all learning and science known to the ancients, and whose system of philosophy governed the world for fifteen hundred years, was a *little dandy*, always dressed in the extreme of fashion and fond of display. William Pinkney, of Maryland, one of the greatest lawyers, statesmen and orators that America ever produced, was always handsomely dressed and prided himself on his dress. So did Charles James Fox in his early life. But greatness is generally simple and cares for no ornament. This was the case with Socrates, who went barefooted in the streets of Athens, and scorned all display. Chief Justice Marshall and M. Calhoun, two of the greatest intellects that ever adorned the bench and senate, were not only plain in their dress, but remarkably simple and unaffected in their manners.

The Athenian ladies were distinguished for their taste in dress, as well as their grace, beauty and symmetry of form. They had the highest perfection of art, in writing the simple and the grand, free of all ostentation. This art they possessed even whilst the loom and cards and spinning-wheel were a part of their household furniture. Dr. Franklin, in writing to his sister in Boston, tells her that he had understood that she had grown to be a great beauty, and had become a great belle, and he was thinking of a suitable present to make her, and concluded that he would present her with a spinning-wheel and a pair of cards. He no doubt thought the beautiful and ornamental might be united with the useful in Boston as they had been in Athens.

FEMALE BEAUTY.

Claudius Ælianus gives us the following description of Aspasia, a Grecian lady, who had the reputation of being the loveliest woman of her time, and who was endowed by nature with a mind still more beautiful than her beautiful person. "Her hair was auburn, and fell in slightly waving ringlets. She had large full eyes, a nose inclined to be aquiline, and small delicate ears. Nothing could be softer than her skin, and her complexion was fresh as a rose, on which account the Phocians called her *Milto*, or the blooming. Her ruddy lips opening, disclosed teeth whiter than snow. She moreover possessed the charm, on which Homer so often dwells in his descriptions of beautiful women, of small, well-formed ankles. Her voice was so full of music and sweetness, that those to whom she spoke imagined they heard the voice of the syrens. To crown all, she was like Horace's *Pyrrha simplex munditis*, abhorring superfluous pomp of ornament." I remember having seen an Englishman's description of Aaron Burr's daughter, the lovely Theodosia, afterwards the wife of Governor Joseph Alston, of South Carolina, which

equals in beauty this description of the fair Grecian, the spouse of Pericles.

We are told that in Attica the ladies kept up, for fourteen hundred years, a sort of Olympian contest for beauty. In modern times this contest among the ladies and fashionable belles of great cities is no doubt daily, instead of happening once in four years. There was a custom in Athens, which a portion of the ladies, no doubt, thought benevolent, whilst others must have regarded it as unjust and absurd. In order to marry the homely girls, who were dowerless, the pretty ones, as well as the ugly ones, were all put together in a spacious room, darkened, and the young men wishing to get married were allowed to go in and select their wives. Modern young ladies, whether beautiful or not, could no doubt rebel against this Grecian custom. The young men, too, might possibly object.

But there is a custom, in modern times, universal amongst princes, nobles, and the wealthier classes in Europe, and sometimes seen in the United States, which is no better than this Grecian custom. Young princesses, ladies and heiresses are given in marriage without being consulted at all. Their chances of happiness in married life are just as uncertain as where they are taken out of a dark room by chance. In this respect, the fortune of the middle and lower classes is much preferable. They are allowed to select for themselves. But a recent writer, who spent many years in France, says that young ladies and gentlemen, even in the middle class of society, never associate together until the gentleman asks for the lady in marriage, and this he very often does without ever having seen her. There is little chance of love in such matches; and Judge Huger once said to a lady, in my presence, "No virtuous woman will marry a man she don't love."

EARLIEST CIVILIZATION.

The earliest civilization we have any correct account

of in history is that of the Egyptians. They were, at a very remote period, distinguished for their architectural grandeur and magnificence. Their pyramids afford abundant evidence of their high civilization and great mechanical skill and industry. The antiquity of these monuments must induce one to doubt the received chronology of the creation of the world. It is impossible that in so short a period after the creation of man, and the destruction of the world by the flood, the Egyptians would have had the population and skill to erect those stupendous structures. Skill and science may have been possible, though altogether improbable, but population utterly impossible. Nothing erected since by man equals them in grandeur and massiveness. How they could have been erected is still one of the wonders of civilization.

The Egyptians were unquestionably of the Caucasian race, and very different in features from their neighbors, the Africans, who lived in close proximity to them without imbibing a particle of their civilization and refinement. It is remarkable that the negro has remained in a savage state for thousands of years, whilst the highest civilization was so near them. This would seem to warrant the conclusion that nature intended him for a savage or slave. The intelligence of the African race, in America, is entirely owing to slavery; and, but for their intimate association with a superior race, they would again relapse into barbarism, although in a state of freedom.

Grecian civilization does not date back as far as that of the Egyptians; in fact, there is little doubt that they did receive their early civilization from Egypt; but they afterwards immeasurably surpassed the Egyptians and all cotemporary nations in the arts and sciences, as well as in literature and philosophy. They were full of genius and invention. None equaled them in poetry, music, sculpture and belles lettres. They perfected their language, and it has never since been equaled in

beauty, harmony and expression. In taste and refinement they were far superior to their Roman conquerors.

The Chinese trace their history back many thousands of years beyond the Jewish account of the creation of the world, but there is very little reliance to be placed on their chronology. They were, however, a comparatively civilized people at a very early period in the world's history. The mariner's compass, gunpowder, writing paper, printing, and the manufacture of porcelain, were known to them for ages before they were known in Europe. The Chinese were also a literary people, and at this time there is, perhaps, no people in the world so universally educated. All aspirants for public honors and office must be literary men. Their religion is doubtful. The Emperor is nominally a Buddhist, and they worship their ancestors. The writings of Confucius, who lived four or five hundred years before Christ, have the same consideration in China that the Bible has in all Christian countries.

THE GREAT LAW OF NATURE.

In passing over the history of ancient nations, we are painfully reminded of the great law of nature, that all things have an end. We are born, live and die. This is the law of the vegetable as well as of the animal kingdom. It is likewise the law of kingdoms, empires and republics. They rise, flourish and pass away. Other States, powers and principalities spring up in their stead, and in a brief period are gone. How short was the existence of the republics of Greece, Rome and Carthage! The mighty empires of Babylon, Persia, Assyria and Egypt were soon conquered and overturned by other nations. We see in history how civilization itself sprung up, flourished, and perished in the dark ages. Again we are living in another experiment of civilization. The world has made rapid strides during the last five hundred years in learning, philosophy, and all the arts and sciences. Great improvements, too, have

taken place in all the modern governments compared to those of antiquity. Despotisms are less despotic, kingdoms less arbitrary and oppressive, and republics more wise and free. The American cluster of republics, when first established, was a great improvement on those of Greece and Rome. It was a representative republic, blending the strength of monarchy with the wisdom of an aristocracy and the virtue of democracy. Instead of the people assembling *en masse* to make laws, as they did in Greece and Rome, they choose representatives for their wisdom and virtue to legislate for them, and hold them responsible for their legislation. But in order to maintain a republic there must be virtue and intelligence in the people. A republic cannot exist long where the people, the source of all power and honor, are ignorant and corrupt. The downfall of the republics of antiquity was owing to the corruption of the people, and the wealth, luxury and idleness of the higher classes.

It is to be greatly apprehended that our cluster of republics may go in the same way. The new element of universal African suffrage, thrown into our State governments by the unwise and unconstitutional legislation of Congress will speedily end our Southern institutions unless some measure is taken to control this black power. This negro element is a total perversion of the object of the American republic. It was intended to be a white man's government and nothing else. What would its framers have thought? What would they have said? What would they have done if they could have foreseen the government of six or seven States falling under the absolute control of their slaves? Would they not have said it was better to remain British Provinces than become Sovereign States?

DEMORALIZATION OF SOCIETY.

There has been, too, a terrible demoralization of society in the United States since our unfortunate civil

war, which has a strong tendency to undermine our republican institutions. Official frauds, defalcations and legislative roguery are every day occurrences. The worst men in the community are being elected and appointed to all offices. There was a time in South Carolina when a stain or imputation on a man's character not only excluded him from office, but from all society of gentlemen. But now if a man cheats, lies and steals, and by his roguery acquires fortune or official position, he becomes the associate of gentlemen, and his crimes are unpunished and unnoticed. He may betray his principles, his race and his country, and still maintain his position in society.

FAREWELL.

But, gentlemen, I will not further remind you of our misfortunes and the misfortunes of our common country, which we have all experienced to our hearts' sorrow. Thanking you for your polite attention and kindness I bid you farewell, hoping that a brighter day is dawning in the South, and that we may all live to see South Carolina restored to her ancient fame, honor and prosperity. But in parting with you to-night, perhaps never to meet again, I cannot refrain from saying that I shall carry with me to my mountain home a grateful remembrance of your kindness and hospitality, and a high appreciation of your sociability, literary tastes and culture. Your ancient and beautiful little town, too, with its magnificent groves of trees, neat houses and handsome shrubbery, has made a deep and lasting impression on my heart and memory.

FAREWELL.

SKETCHES
OF
Eminent American Statesmen.

JAMES OTIS.

This great statesman and most eloquent of men, was the prime mover of the American Revolution. He sowed the seeds of rebellion, liberty and independence in 1761, which ripened into American Independence in 1776. King George the Third had just ascended the throne of Great Britain and ordered "Writs of Assistance" to issue in Massachusetts to search for property on which taxes had not been paid. The merchants of Boston employed Mr. Otis to resist in court the issuing of these writs. This was two years before Patrick Henry's great speech on the celebrated "Parsons case" in Virginia, and five years before his burst of eloquence in the House of Burgesses in which he said, with the voice of thunder and the look of a God, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third"—"treason!" cried the

These Sketches of Eminent Statesmen were written by Governor Perry, between the years 1863 and 1876, soon after the war, when South Carolina was under carpet-bag and negro rule, before the State was redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, through the efforts and influence of General Hampton.

speaker, "treason! treason!" echoed from every part of the House. Henry faltered not for an instant, but rising to a loftier attitude, and fixing on the speaker an eye of the most determined fire, finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis—" *May profit by their example.* If *this* be treason make the most of it!"

Old John Adams, afterwards President of the United States, then a very young man, was present in court and heard Otis's argument against "Writs of Assistance." He gives the following graphic account of it, and the impression it produced on the court and spectators: "Otis was a flame of fire. With a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eyes into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. American Independence was then and there born. The seeds of patriots and heroes to defend the '*Non sine dies animosus infans*,' (motto of the Alliance Medal struck in Paris to commemorate the alliance between France and America,) were then and there sown. Every man of an immense crowded audience, appeared to me go away as I did, ready to take up arms against 'Writs of Assistance.' Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child 'Independence' was born. In fifteen years, in 1776, he grew up to manhood and declared himself *free*."

The court decided that they could see no foundation for "Writs of Assistance" and the practice was not known in England. This was before the stamp act and the duty on teas. It was the first blow given to the arbitrary power of Great Britain in her American Colonies.

In genius, eloquence, learning and towering intellect, Mr. Otis had no equal in his day and time. His family were the first settlers in Massachusetts, and he

was fifth in descent from John Otis who came from England.

He was born in 1725, and graduated at Harvard College. His natural ardor and vivacity for the first two years of his college life made his society much courted by the older students. But he changed his course in the junior year and then gave indication of great talents and powers of application. So devoted was he to his books on his return home that his neighbors did not see him for weeks. He had great wit and humor and some talent for music. On one occasion he was playing the violin for a company of young people at his father's house and suddenly stopped, holding up his fiddle and bow, said, "So Orpheus fiddled and so danced the brutes," threw them aside and rushed into the garden followed by all of the revellers.

At the Bar, in the Legislature, and before popular assemblies, he was the foremost man of all New England, and stood head and shoulders taller intellectually, than Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Josiah Quincy and John Adams. He was a writer of great power and ability. In 1762 he published the "Vindication of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay," a work in which many volumes are concentrated. In speaking of this work, John Adams says, "Look over the Declaration of Rights and Wrongs issued by Congress in 1774. Look into the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Look into the wordings of Dr. Price and Dr. Priestly. Look into all the French Constitutions of government. And to cap the climax, look into Mr. Thomas Paine's Common Sense, Crisis and Rights of Man; and what can you find that is not to be found in solid substance in this "Vindication of the House of Representatives?"

This noble patriot and heroic man, though he lived to see American Independence, was not able to enjoy it. He had a controversy with one of the officers of the British Government in 1769. His refutation of some

strictures on his conduct was so severe that the officer brutally assaulted him, and in consequence of the blows received, his godlike intellect was dethroned! He lived till May 20th, 1783, when he was struck by a flash of lightning and fell dead to the earth. A few weeks before his death, he said to his sister in one of his lucid intervals, "I hope when God Almighty in his righteous providence shall take me out of time into eternity, that it will be by a flash of lightning." Strange to say, his wish was gratified.

Had Mr. Otis retained his extraordinary faculties from 1769 to 1783, he would have been the most prominent man of the American Revolution in Congress. It is sad to think of his loss, to the cause so dear to his heart, and particularly distressing to reflect how it occurred. That a man possessed of all the noblest qualities of the heart, and the highest powers of intellect, with great learning and culture, should be stricken down by the ruffian of a tyrant and made forever imbecile is indeed horrible. When a very young man, I remember having read the life of James Otis, by William Tudor, and how deeply and painfully I was impressed by it. In 1859, I saw in Mount Auburn Cemetery, near Boston, the magnificent statue of this illustrious patriot, and I thought that I had never before seen such a god-like representation of mortal man. His form and features were perfect in manly beauty. There seemed to be a heavenly spirituality in his countenance. No statue of Grecian or Roman gods by the most celebrated sculptors of antiquity, could have surpassed it in my estimation. I understood it was executed by the son of Judge Story of the Supreme Bench of the United States. There is a likeness of Mr. Otis in the frontispiece of "American Eloquence," published by Frank Moore in 1854. This great work contains sketches of upwards of sixty of the most eminent American statesmen and orators, with selections from their speeches and orations, and should be in the library of every gentleman. The

likeness of Otis is not equal to his statue by Story, but it represents a noble head and face. I am indebted to this compilation and its biographical sketch of James Otis for much that I have said in this article of the prime mover of the American Revolution.

JOHN ADAMS.

This distinguished statesman, patriot and orator, was the bold, uncompromising champion of American Independence, and afterwards the successor of Washington in the Presidency of the United States. He was born at Braintree in Massachusetts, November 19th, 1735. His father was an humble farmer, in limited circumstances, and much respected for his piety, integrity and industry. John worked on the farm of his father, and went to school till he was nineteen years old. He then entered Harvard College, and in due course graduated a finished scholar. For some time after his graduation he taught school, and gives an amusing account of his throne and obsequious subjects as a pedagogue. He intended at one time to enter the ministry, but he thought his religious opinions were rather wavering for a preacher, and he read law. In 1764 he married Abigail Smith, a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Smith, who, by the by, was a relative of the ancestor of the Rhetts of South Carolina, whose original name was Smith. It is said the parents of his wife were unwilling to the marriage of their daughter with one so poor and humble in his origin as was Mr. Adams. Little did they then suppose that Miss Abigail was about to marry the future President of the Great Republic of North America. It seems the daughter had a better appreciation of the character and talents and virtues of the young lawyer than her parents. Abigail Smith was, indeed, a young lady of remarkable intellectual qualities and moral worth. She was the intimate friend and correspondent of Jefferson for many years. It was suspected, too, that she controlled her husband in some of his measures

whilst he was President of the United States. She was a proud, noble woman, and when Jefferson dismissed from office her son, she broke with him, and never could be reconciled. Her husband and Mr. Jefferson renewed their early friendship in the latter part of their lives; but she positively refused to accept the proffered renewal of friendship on the part of Mr. Jefferson.

In 1770, Mr. Adams, although a flaming patriot, undertook the defence of Captain Preston and the British soldiers who had killed several of the citizens of Boston in a rencounter on the streets. He was associated in this most unpopular defence with his wife's relative, Josiah Quincy. His high sense of professional duty would not permit him to decline the defence of those who were charged with murder, on account of popular clamor. The speech of Mr. Adams on this occasion is given in Frank Moore's great work entitled "*American Eloquence*," and I have never read a more complete legal argument, or one of greater learning and eloquence on the criminal side of the Court. If a young lawyer should be at a loss in a case of murder, by turning to this argument he will find law, logic and eloquence already provided for him. His patriotism did not prevent his seeing justice done even to those who came to Massachusetts to suppress the spirit of liberty. His friends and his father were indignant when they heard he had consented to defend the British murderers. His father wrote him a severe letter, expressing great surprise and regret at his conduct. But Mr. Adams was a bold, fearless young barrister, and nothing could deter him from doing what he thought was right and honorable.

It is said of Mr. Adams that he never regarded the opinion of others when in conflict with his own. He never supposed himself to be in the wrong. The rest of mankind might err, but he never did! In this respect he was the opposite of Washington, who always regarded most respectfully the opinions of those who differed with him. Mr. Adams was not only self-willed

and stubborn, but he was passionate and impulsive. He was very ambitious, and, like all ambitious men, selfish. In his diary and journal, published by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, with his other works, in ten volumes, he seldom speaks well of his cotemporaries and associates. He generally thought they received too much public consideration, and himself too little. This was especially his feeling towards Dr. Franklin, in Paris. In this respect he was very much like his son, John Quincy Adams, as he appears in his journal lately published by his son. John Quincy always had some complaint against his compeers, and was ever recording bitter sayings against them.

I once saw, in Harvard College, a very admirable likeness, full length, of John Adams. He was stout and short, well built, and showed great muscular power. He had a fine large head and full face. There was a great deal of the animal passions to be seen in his appearance. When excited he was almost a madman, and expressed himself with great vehemence. But with all his faults, he was a sterling patriot, and an honest, honorable man. Jefferson, his great rival, says he was as honest as the God who made him! His federalism, and the alien and sedition laws passed by Congress during his administration made him for a while very unpopular. There is no doubt he was wanting in judgment and discretion.

Samuel Adams, the glorious old patriot and States rights man of Massachusetts, was a distant relation of John Adams, and a descendant of a more distinguished branch of the family. He and John Hancock, who was for many years Governor of Massachusetts, and President of the Continental Congress, were on most intimate terms throughout their lives. There is a tradition that on some occasion Hancock said to Adams, "You know, sir, that I have furnished you with bread for a number of years." "Yes," said Adams, "and I have furnished you with brains for the same length of time."

The Adams family have been remarkable for their

talents and distinction. John Adams, the subject of this sketch, was distinguished alike for his learning, ability and eloquence as a statesman, orator and writer. He was the bold champion of the Declaration of Independence, one of the Commissioners who signed the treaty by which that Declaration was admitted by Great Britain, the first Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James, Vice-President of the United States, and President. His son, John Quincy Adams, was eminent for his learning and talents. He was Minister to several foreign courts, United States Senator, Secretary of State, and President of the United States. Charles Francis Adams, the son of John Quincy, and grandson of old John Adams, has been a member of Congress, Minister to Great Britain, and spoken of for President. He is a gentleman of high character and great learning and talents. His son, John Quincy Adams, Jr., the great grandson of John Adams, has been the Democratic candidate for Governor of Massachusetts for a number of years, and was once run as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States. He was invited by the prominent Democrats of South Carolina some years since to come here and address the people of Columbia and Charleston. I had the pleasure of his acquaintance in Columbia, and formed a very high estimate of his talents and ability. His speeches, as published, were the production of no ordinary mind. His brother, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., is likewise a prominent speaker and writer in Massachusetts, though a very young man.

Here we have four generations of great men in the same family. There are very few similar instances in all history. Indeed, it is seldom that a great man has a great son; especially so in the United States. The sons of Calhoun, Lowndes, Clay, Webster and Cheves, were all very ordinary young men. How is this to be accounted for? Was it owing to their mothers? It is said that all great men have had great mothers, and

history warrants the saying. Such was the case with Lord Bacon, Napoleon Bonaparte, George Washington, and hundreds of others who might be mentioned. The mother of old John Adams was a Miss Boylston, and by nature no doubt a great woman. His father was not remarkable for talents. The mother of John Quincy Adams, as I have already stated, was remarkable for her talents and vigor of mind. His wife, the mother of Charles Francis Adams, was a Miss Johnson, of Maryland, though born and educated in England, and said to have been clever. I once saw the wife of Charles Francis Adams, the mother of John Quincy Adams, Jr., and was struck with her fine intellectual appearance.

There is a fact mentioned by Thomas Addis Emmett, in his defence of William S. Smith, connected with the Adams family, which I never knew before. William S. Smith was indicted in the United States court for New York as a confederate of General Meranda in his attempted invasion of the Spanish Provinces of South America. Mr. Emmett stated to the court that the act of Congress under which Smith was indicted was passed whilst John Adams was Vice-President of the United States, and that Smith was a son-in-law of Adams. He also stated that the act of Congress was leveled at Genet, the French Minister in 1793, and that His Honor, the Presiding Judge, a son of De Witt Clinton, was the brother-in-law of Genet. John Smith, United States Senator from Ohio, was expelled from the Senate for his complicity with Col. Burr's conspiracy, and John Quincy Adams, who was then in the United States Senate, made a speech against him. These two Smiths were confounded in my mind, and I thought it very strange that John Quincy Adams should have made a speech for the expulsion of his brother-in-law from the Senate of the United States.

Old John Adams, after being defeated by Jefferson for re-election to the Presidency in 1799, retired to private life. The Governorship of Massachusetts was

tendered him, which he declined on account of his age and wished to spend the remainder of his days at home in his family. When the convention of Massachusetts assembled to revise their constitution, he was elected a member of it, and was the presiding officer of the convention. He died on the 4th of July, 1826, and his last words were: "*It is a great day.*" Thomas Jefferson died on the same day. On hearing this news at Greenville, S. C., a gentleman remarked: "Co-incident in death; co-eternal in fame."

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

This illustrious son of Carolina, pre-eminently distinguished for his eloquence, ability, statesmanship and patriotism, was born in Charleston in 1739. His father, Dr. John Rutledge, and his brother, Andrew, came to South Carolina in 1735, from Ireland. Andrew was a lawyer. About the same time a wine merchant by the name of Hext, emigrated from England and settled in Charleston. He died soon afterwards, and Andrew Rutledge married his widow, and John married his youngest daughter, who gave birth to Chief Justice Rutledge in her fifteenth year. She afterwards gave birth to Edward Rutledge, signer of the Declaration of Independence and Governor of South Carolina, and also Hugh Rutledge, who was one of the Chancellors of the State. There were four sisters of Mrs. Rutledge, and one of them married John McCall, another married Prioleau, a third married Dart, and the fourth, Mr. Roper. Mrs. Rutledge was a woman of great energy and more than ordinary endowments. She was left a widow at an early age, and had the entire education of her children. Possessing an ample fortune in her own right, she sent her sons to England to finish their education.

John Rutledge, after completing his college studies, determined to read law, and was entered a student of the Temple in London, and in due course of time was licensed as a barrister. He returned home in 1761, and commenced his brilliant professional career. The first case in which he was employed was for a breach of a marriage promise. His debut at the Bar astonished and electrified the court and jury. At one bound he

placed himself at the head of his profession by the learning, eloquence and ability he displayed in his first speech. Business overwhelmed him, and he had one side or the other of almost every case in court. He showed himself to be a profound lawyer, as the most eloquent of advocates.

In 1764 Governor Boone refused to qualify Christopher Gadsden, who was the prime mover of the rebellion in South Carolina, as a member of the Legislature. This excited all the indignation and patriotism of the young barrister, and he gave vent to it in bursts of thrilling eloquence. From that day it may be said he was for American Independence. Massachusetts sent an invitation to all the Colonies to meet in Convention in 1765, and consult as to the best means of defending their colonial rights and liberty. John Rutledge, then only twenty-five years old, was appointed a delegate to this convention, with Christopher Gadsden and Thomas Lynch, from South Carolina. All the Colonies sent delegates to this Congress except Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia and New Hampshire. It is said that "the brilliancy of his genius, the boldness of his ideas, the extent and variety of his information, and the beauty and power of his diction, all together made a deep impression upon the body of which he was a member."

From 1765 to 1774 he was devoted to his profession. Then came the troubles of Massachusetts, and Rutledge, who was a member of the South Carolina convention, proposed that delegates should be sent to a Congress of all the Colonies. Some one wished to limit the powers of the delegates, which Rutledge vehemently opposed. When asked what shall be done with the delegates if they betray their constituents, Rutledge turned upon him with passionate gesture and flashing eyes, and exclaimed: "*Hang them, sir!—hang them!*" He was again appointed a delegate to this Congress, with Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, Henry Middleton and

Edward Rutledge. This Congress was composed of the greatest men of all the Colonies. George Washington, Patrick Henry, John Adams, Richard Henry Lee, Judge Chase, Chief Justice Jay, Samuel Adams, Roger Sherman, Livingston, etc., etc. Patrick Henry was asked on his return home whom he thought the greatest man in that Congress. He replied, "If you speak of eloquence, John Rutledge of South Carolina is the greatest orator, but if you speak of information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on the floor."

John Rutledge and John Adams were the business men of this first Congress. Rutledge was not a mere orator like Patrick Henry, but a man of profound understanding, great learning, and great statesmanship. On his return home he was elected Governor of South Carolina, and therefore his name was not signed to the Declaration of Independence. When Sir Henry Clinton made his attack on Charleston in June, 1776, General Charles Lee was sent there to take command of the forces. He advised Colonel Moultrie to abandon his Fort on Sullivan's Island, as it was nothing but a slaughter pen. Governor Rutledge immediately wrote Colonel Moultrie not to give up the fort, unless on an order written by him, and he "would cut off his right hand sooner than write such an order!"

Just before the fall of Charleston, Rutledge was clothed by the Legislature with dictatorial powers, and he exercised them with great prudence, ability and energy for several years. When it was proposed in the Virginia Legislature to make Patrick Henry DICTATOR, several members declared he should not live twenty-four hours after accepting the Dictatorship! The people of South Carolina were not so terrified at the appointment of a Dictator, when that Dictator was to be John Rutledge, whose wisdom and patriotism, sense of justice and wonderful sagacity had been so thoroughly tested.

Towards the close of the Revolutionary war, Governor

Rutledge, after consulting General Marion as to its propriety, issued his proclamation offering a free and full pardon to all tories who would volunteer and serve in the army six months. A great many came forward and accepted the terms offered. I am sure that I drew a good many pensions for Revolutionary soldiers of this class immediately after the passage of the Pension Act by Congress. They all proved six months' services very satisfactory, but could give me no satisfactory account of their whereabouts previous to their volunteering. I will not attempt to recount the services of Governor Rutledge after the fall of Charleston. Fortunately for the State, he was not in the city of Charleston when it surrendered. His efforts to redeem the State by appeals to Congress, and to the Legislatures of Virginia and North Carolina, and to the people of South Carolina, were energetic and untiring. Gates's defeat was a terrible blow to him, and when Greene came to take command of the Southern army his spirits revived, for his intuitive knowledge of mankind satisfied him that the Rhode Island blacksmith was a great General. And Greene wrote after meeting Governor Rutledge, that he was the greatest man he had ever met.

Like all brave and patriotic men, Governor Rutledge was generous, noble hearted and forgiving. He advised that the property of the loyalists should not be confiscated, nor they themselves exiled from their country. Like all truly great men, he was at times passionate and impulsive, but forgiving. It is said, in the latter part of his life he was proud and austere. Well may such a man have been proud of his glorious career. At the close of the war he was elected Chancellor of the State and received the vote of South Carolina as Vice-President when Washington was first declared President. When the Federal Judiciary was organized, Washington appointed him one of the Supreme Judges. He was then elected Chief Justice of South Carolina, and, in 1795, was appointed by Washington Chief Justice of

the United States. He went on to Philadelphia, and presided at one term of the court as Chief Justice. He was on his way to hold the Federal Court in North Carolina, when his great intellect was dethroned, and he attempted to drown himself near Society Hill, and was pulled out of the river by some negroes. He lived five years afterwards, but his life was a blank from that time.

In consequence of his opposition to the ratification of Jay's Treaty, the Senate of the United States refused to confirm his appointment as Chief Justice. Washington knew of his opposition to this great Federal measure before he made the appointment. But he knew the honesty of his heart, his great learning, his great abilities, and his sterling patriotism. The Senate, however, disregarded all these great qualities, when united in one opposed to their party.

Dr. Ramsay says, in his history of South Carolina: "While Massachusetts boasts of her John Adams, Connecticut of her Ellsworth, New York of her Jay, Pennsylvania of her Wilson, Delaware of her Bayard, Virginia of her Henry—South Carolina rests her claims on the talents and eloquence of John Rutledge."

The wife of Chief Justice Rutledge was a Miss Grimke, probably the sister of Judge Grimke, who belonged to a Huguenot family which migrated to South Carolina after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. General John Rutledge, United States Senator from South Carolina, was the son of Chief Justice Rutledge. His other children I am not able to mention. When the lives of the Chief Justices of the United States was undertaken by George Von Santvoored, of New York, in 1854, he complained to Senator Butler, of South Carolina, that he could get little or no information about Chief Justice Rutledge. His letters, manuscripts and papers of every description were lost or destroyed. His descendants had very meagre information relative to their great ancestor.

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

It is to be regretted that no one has undertaken to write the life of this eminent statesman, hero and patriot. There are few illustrious men in all history who possessed more of the old Roman in their composition than Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina. His grandfather, Thomas Pinckney, emigrated from England to South Carolina in 1687, only a few years after the first settlement of the colony. He married Mary Cotesworth, and was a gentleman of independent fortune. His son Charles was Chief Justice of the colony, and married Miss Eliza Lucas, daughter of Col. George Lucas, Governor of the island of Antigua. She was the mother of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and had the honor of introducing the culture of indigo in South Carolina. Her father owned a plantation at Wappoo, and sent her tropical seeds and fruits to be planted. This was before her marriage to Chief Justice Pinckney. Amongst others he sent her some indigo seed, and a man by the name of Cromwell to show her the process of extracting the dye from the weed.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was born in Charleston, February 25, 1746, and was taken by his father to England when seven years old to be educated. His younger brother, General Thomas Pinckney, was likewise taken there to be educated. He graduated at Oxford at an early age and then read law in the Middle Temple. He passed over to France and spent a year or two in the Royal Military Academy at Cæn. He returned to Charleston in 1769 and commenced the practice of his profession. But the troubles between Great Britain and her colonies soon absorbed all of the young barrister's thoughts and time.

He was elected a member of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina in 1775, and was appointed a captain in the army by Governor Rutledge. Although he had left his native country when a child, and was brought up in England, his love and affection were for the land of his birth. His love and devotion to liberty were still stronger, and no one ever more courageously worshiped honor throughout life than he did. He was engaged in the capture of Fort Johnson and the defence of Fort Moultrie. He then went North, and was aide-de-camp to General Washington in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. The South being again invaded, he returned, and participated in the unsuccessful expedition to Florida. He assisted in the defence of Charleston when attacked by Prevost. He fought with great gallantry in the attack on Savannah. He was in command of Fort Moultrie when Charleston surrendered. He opposed to the last the surrender of the city. It was not in his proud, stubborn nature to yield to policy. He remained a prisoner of war till peace was ratified. He resumed his practice at the bar, and was most successful as a lawyer. His learning, ability and high character placed him by the side of John Rutledge.

He was a member of the convention of 1788, which framed the Constitution of the United States, and also a member of the State convention which adopted the Constitution. He was its strong advocate in opposition to Raulin Lowndes, who wished it placed on his tombstone that he had opposed the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. General Washington wrote a letter addressed jointly to him and Edward Rutledge, tendering to one of them to be decided by them the position of a seat on the supreme bench of the United States, and they joined in a letter to the President both declining the appointment. I expect there is no other instance on record of a high judicial appointment being tendered in the same letter to two lawyers and leaving it with them to say which should accept the position.

General Pinckney also declined a seat in Washington's cabinet as Secretary of War. Whilst in Washington's military family he must have made a most favorable impression on the commander-in-chief of the Continental army.

In 1796 he accepted the appointment of Minister to France, and was received very coldly by "the Secretary" then in power, and finally ordered to leave France. He was afterwards sent back to France with Chief Justice Marshal and Eldridge Gerry as Ministers Plenipotentiary. They were given to understand by Talleyrand that nothing could be accomplished without a bribe in money. It was on this occasion that it is said General Pinckney used the famous expression, "Millions for defence but not a cent for tribute." The expression was worthy of the patriot and hero, and has become historical. But unfortunately, General Pinckney says the expression was never used by him. Governor Middleton, who was the nephew of General Pinckney and his private secretary in Paris, told me, many years ago, that a lady was sent by Talleyrand to sound the General on the subject of the American Minister's making a large present in money to the French Government. She was promptly and distinctly informed that no such present would be made, even if war was the consequence of their refusal. Talleyrand afterwards denied that he had authorized this lady to make any such proposition. There was not a particle of doubt, however, that he had done so. At the time this famous expression was said to have been used, pounds, shillings and pence were the money currency and not dollars and cents. The expression was so much in character with General Pinckney that it was universally believed until he contradicted it at a public dinner. It was not consistent with his high sense of honor to permit a most flattering, patriotic expression to be attributed to him which he did not use, although it expressed his feelings and sentiments. As Judge Butler once said, "if it is not true, it ought to be."

Judge Huger told me the following amusing incident characteristic of General Pinckney whilst in Paris. He requested the waiter at the hotel, the first night after his arrival, to show him his bedchamber. When he opened the door and looked around, he said, "Where is Mrs. Pinckney?" "Oh," said the waiter, "her bedchamber is in another direction." "Well," said the General, to the utter amazement of the valet, "one room answers for both of us." This was looked upon as a decided American vulgarity. The polite fashionables of Paris were amazed at the American Minister and his wife occupying the same bedchamber. The story was not believed. It was incredible.

In 1800 John Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney were the Federal candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr were the Republican candidates. South Carolina was strongly Republican, and it was proposed to General Pinckney for the Legislature to cast the vote of the State for Jefferson and himself. He indignantly refused any such arrangement, and said the State must vote for Adams or not for him. He would not think of receiving the vote of his own State, unless it was given to the candidate with whom he was running. Such was the exquisite sense of honor on the part of this old hero, patriot and statesman. If he had consented to receive the vote of South Carolina, he would have been elected Vice-President instead of Aaron Burr. This information I received from Chancellor De Sausure, who was one of the actors on the scene. Where is the politician or statesman of the present day who would have refused the vote of his State for the Presidency under these circumstances? He was justly the idol of Carolina, though differing from Carolina in politics. She wished to honor her illustrious son, but was unwilling to honor with him the author of the Alien and Sedition Laws. His brother, General Thomas Pinckney, was twice run by the Federal party for the Presidency. The leading men of South Carolina of that day were all Fed-

eralists. They belonged to the school of Washington, and were in favor of a strong Federal government. They were opposed to Mr. Jefferson's democracy, which by nullification and secession, would have made the Federal Union a rope of sand. Had they lived at the present day, they would have opposed with equal energy the consolidating doctrines of President Grant and the Republican party. They adhered to the constitution as it was, and acknowledged all the sovereign rights of the States not yielded in the Federal Constitution. They never would have tolerated military usurpation or the interference on the part of the Federal authorities with the government of the States.

General Pinkney and William Pinckney, of Maryland, the most accomplished lawyer, orator and statesman that America has perhaps ever produced, were descended from the same family in Lincolnshire, England, although they spelled their family names differently. This information is given by William Pinckney, after spending several years in England and tracing up the origin of his family. Charles Pinckney, who was four times elected Governor of the State of South Carolina and was sent as Minister to Spain, was a second cousin of General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and the grandson of William Pinckney, his uncle.

If I am not mistaken, General C. C. Pinckney married a Miss Middleton and had three daughters but no son. Two of his daughters died unmarried, and the third married Mr. Izard, but left no issue. Therefore this great man has no descendants now living. His brother, General Thomas Pinckney, has a great many living descendants.

I have a picture of General C. C. Pinckney which represents him stout and muscular, with a full face and large head, grave, solemn and dignified in his appearance. He was a great reader and book worm. His hospitality was princely, and his charity unbounded. He died in 1825, in his eightieth year.

CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN.

The life and character of this eminent patriot, hero, and statesman, have been greatly neglected in South Carolina. No one has written a memoir of his Revolutionary services. In the "National Portrait Gallery" there are more than one hundred and fifty biographical sketches with likenesses of distinguished American patriots, heroes, orators and statesmen, but none of Christopher Gadsden. John Rutledge, Edward Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Thomas Pinckney, Henry Laurens, Francis Marion, Thomas Sumter, Andrew Pickens, Hayne, and other eminent Carolinians are admirably sketched with the great men of other states in this beautiful national work, but nothing is said of General Christopher Gadsden. Again, in the great work entitled "American Eloquence," there are more than sixty illustrious lives sketched, and many of them South Carolinians, and yet Christopher Gadsden is omitted. It is true that history has been more just to his bold and fearless patriotism. Bancroft in his most minute and accurate history of the United States, in ten volumes, does ample justice to him. Likewise, in the history of South Carolina, Dr. Ramsay, his compeer in the Revolutionary war, gives his character and services justly and properly.

Christopher Gadsden was the prime mover of American Independence in South Carolina, as James Otis was in Massachusetts, and Patrick Henry in Virginia. The Rutledges, Pinckneys, Henry Laurens, and others, were with him heart and soul in Carolina. So were Samuel Adams, John Adams, John Hancock, Joseph Warren and others in Massachusetts with James Otis,

in all the ardor of a burning patriotism, and determined resistance to British oppression. The same may be said of the Lees, Washington, Jefferson, Mason and the other patriots and leaders of the rebels in Virginia. They all felt and acted with Patrick Henry. But Otis and Gadsden and Henry spoke first and fired the public mind of their respective states. They may properly be said to have sowed the first seeds of rebellion and independence. Otis, in his speech in 1761, against "Writs of Assistance" before the Supreme court of Massachusetts; Christopher Gadsden in his conversations with his associates and compeers in Charleston under the shade of his tree of liberty in 1765; and Patrick Henry about the same time in the House of Burgesses of Virginia.

Christopher Gadsden was born in Charleston, S. C., in 1724. His father, Thomas Gadsden, was a lieutenant in the British navy, and a gentleman of fortune. It is said that he lost a large portion of his estate in play with Admiral Anson on his visit to Charleston in 1733, which his son Christopher afterwards repurchased. He was sent at a very early age to England to be educated, and became a finished Greek, Latin and French scholar. It seems he had a talent for languages, for during his long imprisonment by the British in Florida, he made himself a good Hebrew and Oriental scholar. On his return to Charleston from England he was placed in a counting-house in Philadelphia, where he remained till he was twenty-one years old. He then visited England again, and, returning a passenger on board of a man-of-war, he was appointed purser of the vessel, in place of that officer who died on the passage. He continued in the British Navy two years and then commenced merchandise, and ended by planting and factorage. He was the intimate companion and bosom friend of Henry Laurens. They were both born republicans, and Dr. Ramsay says had Gadsden lived in the days of Charles the First, he would have been another Hampden. So too would Henry Laurens have been.

They were very much alike in their characters and somewhat so in their fortunes. After serving their country most faithfully, they were captured by the English, and whilst one was a prisoner in the tower of London, the other was a prisoner in the dungeon of St. Augustine.

In the year 1759, when Governor Lyttleton made his expedition against the Cherokee Indians, Gadsden raised a company of artillery, the first ever organized in the Province. This is said to be after many changes what is now called in Charleston "the Ancient Battalion of Artillery." By the by I saw it proposed by the Adjutant General the other day to change the name of this "Ancient Battalion" and call it a regiment.

In 1765 Gadsden, Lynch and John Rutledge were appointed delegates from South Carolina to the Stamp Act Convention, as it was called, when nine states assembled at the call of Massachusetts for consultation as to their national and colonial rights. He had been in correspondence with Samuel Adams, another congenial spirit of his, and warmly espoused the cause of New England. He was mainly instrumental in getting South Carolina to meet Massachusetts, and if she had not done so there would have been no convention in 1765. The other colonies doubted the propriety of such a step at the time, and four of the thirteen did not send delegates. The truth, no doubt, is that Gadsden foresaw at that time the Independence of the American Colonies. He did not think it right or possible for so large a country, settled by free, independent and intelligent citizens to be governed by a little island, three thousand miles distant, with the Atlantic Ocean between them.

It was abhorrent to his republican feelings and his sense of justice, to see the Governors of the Province, the Judges and all the public officers appointed by the ministry in England. In a good government he would have been the best of citizens, but in an arbitrary and oppressive government he would always have been an

arch rebel. He could not tolerate any infringement on his rights. In his history of the United States, Bancroft gives the following character of Christopher Gadsden: "He was a man of deep and clear convictions, thoroughly sincere, of an unbending will, and a sturdy, impetuous integrity, which drove those about him like the dashing of a mountain torrent on an overshot wheel, a resistless power, though sometimes clogging with back water from its own violence. He had not only that courage which defies danger, but that invincible persistence which neither peril nor imprisonment nor the threat of death can shake. Full of religious faith, and at the same time inquisitive and tolerant, methodical, yet lavish of his fortune for public ends, he had in his nature nothing vacillating or low, and knew not how to hesitate or feign."

The question was submitted in the convention of 1765 whether they should build their defence of American liberty "on charters or natural justice on precedents and facts, or on special privileges or universal reason." "Gadsden, of South Carolina," says Bancroft, "giving utterance to the warm impulse of a brave and noble nature, spoke against vesting their defence on charters with irresistible impetuosity. He said: 'A confirmation of our essential and common rights as Englishmen, may be pleaded from charters safely enough, but any further dependence on them may be fatal. We should stand upon the broad common ground of those natural rights that we all feel and know as men and as descendants of Englishmen. I wish the charters may not ensnare us at last by drawing different colonies to act differently in this great cause. Whenever that is the case, all will be over with the whole. There ought to be no New England men, no New Yorkers known on the Continent, but all of us Americans.'" These views carried the convention and were those of James Otis and John Rutledge.

In 1774 a congress of all the colonies was called, and

Christopher Gadsden with John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Edmond Rutledge and Henry Middleton, was appointed a delegate. Gadsden, true to the principles of 1765, contended in this convention that the right to regulate trade was the right to legislate, and a right to legislate in one case is a right to legislate in all. He urged that General Gage should be attacked and routed from Boston before reinforcements could arrive. He contended that rice should not be exported as well as other restricted articles. This would have sacrificed his interest as the owner of a great wharf built by him in Charleston and still known as Gadsden's Wharf. It was proposed that the tea destroyed in Boston should be paid for. Gadsden said "don't pay for an ounce of the damned tea!"

Gadsden was also a member of the Congress in 1776 and had to return home before the Declaration of Independence to take charge of his military command in defence of Charleston, when assaulted by Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker. He presented the standard to be used in the American Navy to the Congress of South Carolina, then in session. It represented in a yellow field a rattle snake, with thirteen full-grown rattles, coiled to strike, with the motto "*don't tread on me.*"

In 1779, when Charleston was besieged by Prevost, it was proposed to surrender the city, which Gadsden strenuously opposed, and when it was decided that Laurens should carry this message to the enemy, he scornfully refused. The next day the British army was withdrawn in consequence of an intercepted letter from General Lincoln which stated that he was marching with a large army to the relief of the city. When the surrender of Charleston was made, Gadsden was Lieutenant-Governor of the State, and paroled. Soon afterwards he was arrested with thirty or forty of the principal citizens and sent to St. Augustine without any cause being assigned for this violation of the surrender. When they arrived at St. Augustine the prisoners were required to

give their pledge not to violate their parole. Gadsden replied he had once given this pledge and the British had violated it on their part and he should give no other. The officer informed him unless he did this, he would be placed in a dungeon. Gadsden replied, "I will not. In God I put my trust and fear no consequences." He was consequently kept in a dungeon seven or eight months, and prohibited all intercourse with his fellow-prisoners.

When he was finally exchanged he returned home and was elected Governor, which office he declined on account of his age and infirmity. Though he had been so cruelly treated he was opposed to the confiscation of the property of the loyalists and did not wish them exiled. He served in the State Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution and also in the convention which framed the State Constitution of 1790. He held very unfavorable opinions of lawyers and doctors, and concurred in that clause of Mr. Locke's fundamental constitution, which makes it "a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward." He survived his 81st year and enjoyed good health, "and at last died," says Dr. Ramsay, "more from the consequences of an accidental fall than the weight of disease or decays of nature." He was the grandfather of Bishop Gadsden and General Gadsden of the United States army. Well may South Carolina be proud of this old hero, patriot and statesman. It may with the strictest truth be said that there was no fear in his heroism, no selfishness in his patriotism, no folly in his statesmanship.

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

This eminent statesman was the greatest of all Georgia's distinguished sons. He was indeed a great man, a giant in intellect as well as in size. No one can look at the noble head and face of his portrait without being impressed with his greatness. And it is said that his large and well-proportioned person was equally impressive. There was, too, a charm in his brilliant conversation, and bright beaming countenance, which made his simplicity of person and manners perfectly fascinating. In South Carolina great injustice has been done William Harris Crawford, in consequence of his having been the rival of Mr. Calhoun for the Presidency, whilst they were both members of Mr. Monroe's cabinet. It is hard to do justice to a rival in love or in politics; and it is equally hard for the friends of rival candidates to appreciate their respective opponents.

It was the fashion in South Carolina forty or fifty years ago, to regard Mr. Crawford as an ambitious, cunning, and intriguing aspirant for the Presidency. There is no doubt that he possessed honorable ambition; but cunning and intrigue were foreign to his open-hearted, frank nature. His fine person, the simplicity of his manners, his great conversational powers, and correct views of our Federal and State Governments made him a favorite with all the members of Congress. They were anxious to nominate him for the Presidency in 1817, when Mr. Monroe was nominated in caucus. But he said to his friends, "nominate Mr. Monroe, I am young enough to wait!" And but for this, he would have been nominated in the Congressional caucus. Does this look like unholy ambition? The truth is that his

opponents attributed his great influence over his associates to cunning and intrigue, when in fact it was owing to his great intellectual powers, and correct, patriotic notions of our government. He was a States' rights man when the fashion of his great cotemporaries, Adams, Clay, Calhoun, Webster and others, was for a strong national government. He was more after the school of Mr. Jefferson, more Democratic and States' rights, and consequently more popular with the people and members of Congress.

Mr. Crawford was born in Nelson County, Virginia, February 24th, 1772. When he was seven years old his father, Jack Crawford, removed with his family to Edgefield District, South Carolina. In the course of twelve months, he was forced by the British troops to remove into Chester, and was taken prisoner and confined in Camden jail. In 1783 he moved into Georgia and settled in Columbia County. In a very short time he died there, and most of his servants were swept off by smallpox. In order to assist his widowed mother in supporting her large and helpless family, he taught school several years, and then became a pupil of the Rev. Dr. Waddel, a famous classical teacher in the upper country and afterwards President of Athens College, Georgia. Mr. Waddel was the son of Mr. Wirt's Blind Preacher, so beautifully and elegantly sketched in his "British Spy." "Socrates died like a philosopher, but Jesus Christ like a God!" This was one of the blind preacher's expressions, in a little log meeting-house in the woods of Virginia. This preceptor of young Crawford used to boast in his old age of the great men whom he had taught in his school-house at Willington, Abbeville District, South Carolina. And well might the old gentleman boast of his pupils, for no other school-master in America ever had such a brilliant galaxy of boys. Among them were John C. Calhoun, George McDuffie, Hugh S. Legare, James L. Petigru, William H. Crawford, Judge Longstreet,

Chancellor Wardlaw, Judge Wardlaw, and many others, afterwards greatly distinguished in life. Of all his pupils Mr. Waddel thought most highly of the intellectual powers of William H. Crawford, although John C. Calhoun was his brother-in-law.

Mr. Crawford had shown such capacity for learning when a child that his father determined to send him to Scotland, and have him thoroughly educated, but his death and the loss of his property rendered this scheme impracticable. After leaving Mr. Waddel's classical school young Crawford taught in an academy in Augusta and read law whilst teaching. How many great men in America have commenced life as school masters? Old John Adams did, Luther Martin did, and also Judge O'Neill, Judge Evans, James L. Petigru, Chancellor Caldwell, etc.

In the spring of 1799, Mr. Crawford opened his law office in Oglethorpe county, without money and without patrons; but his talents, industry and perseverance soon made him friends and business, and in 1802 he was at the head of his profession. He represented Oglethorpe county in the Legislature for four years, and whilst a member of that body acquired his extensive and permanent popularity which never afterwards left him. In 1807 he was elected to the United States Senate and again re-elected in 1811 without opposition. His debut in the Senate was in a discussion with that veteran debater, Governor Giles of Virginia. This discussion gave him a high reputation for talents, learning and ability, which he never lost whilst he remained a member of the Senate. He was elected President of the Senate, and tendered the office of Secretary of War by Mr. Madison, which he declined, in 1813. He was then sent as Minister to France and remained there two or three years. During his residence in Paris he formed a most intimate friendship with General Lafayette, and they continued to correspond for many years.

On his return to the United States, he was appointed

Secretary of War and then Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Madison. His friends now urged him to let them put his name in nomination for the Presidency, and he promptly refused, as has been already stated. The Congressional caucus, however, came very near nominating him over Mr. Monroe, notwithstanding his positive refusal. This showed very great personal popularity, and he was then only forty-five years old. He was a member of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet for eight years, and filled with great ability the Treasury Department. Mr. Adams was Secretary of State, Mr. Calhoun Secretary of War, and Mr. Wirt Attorney-General. What a glorious Cabinet this was. It has never been surpassed. Three of the members were brought forward as rival candidates for the Presidency. In consequence of Mr. Crawford's long illness during the canvass for the Presidency, his friends in a great measure abandoned him. They thought it would be doing injustice to the country to place a paralytic invalid in the Presidential chair. Mr. Adams was elected, and he earnestly requested Mr. Crawford to continue Secretary of the Treasury, notwithstanding his ill health. But his offer was declined, and Mr. Crawford returned to Georgia, where he was elected a judge, and re-elected till his death in 1834. At that time there was no Appeal or Supreme court in Georgia, and we have no reports of Judge Crawford's decisions. His judicial opinion in the celebrated Indian case, the State vs. Tassels, is referred to as being one of great ability and which shows that his mind was not impaired by his long illness at Washington. He had a holy horror of listening to silly speeches in court. It must be very painful to a judge to have to sit patiently and hear a long dull foolish argument in some plain, unimportant case.

Whilst reading law in Augusta, Mr. Crawford became engaged to his wife, who was a Miss Giroudin. But his poverty for seven long years prevented his getting married. When he found he was making enough by

his profession to support a wife and family, he married his betrothed and they lived together most happily to the end of his life. They had eight children, and it is said his domestic circle presented the most perfect specimen of a democratic government that was ever seen. Father, mother, sons and daughters, old and young, all lived together as equals. They discussed family matters and took a vote, the majority always controlling. Mrs. Crawford, like her great husband, was very plain and simple in her dress and manners. Mr. Crawford, like Col. Benton, assisted very much in the education of his children. Likewise he was continually giving them good advice.

The following admirably drawn character of this great man is taken from a memoir of his life in the "National Portrait Gallery," and was evidently written by one who knew him well. The sketch is so perfect that I cannot abridge it, and I am sure the reader will thank me for not doing so:

"Mr. Crawford was a man considerably above ordinary height, large, muscular and well-proportioned. His head and face were remarkably striking and impressed the beholder at once with the belief that he must possess more than ordinary powers of intellect. His complexion was fair, and, until late in life, ruddy. His features were strong and regular. When at rest, they indicated great firmness and perseverance of character. When he smiled, an engaging benignity overspread his whole countenance. His eyes, before they were affected by his protracted illness at Washington, were clear, blue, mild, though radiant. His deportment was affable, his step firm, his gait erect and manly, but not ostentatious, indicating courage and independence.

"His manners, though free from stiffness and hauteur, were never very graceful. They were such, however, as to make all about him feel easy. There was in him a certain consciousness of superior mind, as has been said of another, which could not always be repressed nor

withdrawn from observation. He was at all times a man of decided feelings—warm in his attachments, and vehement in his resentments. He was prompt to repel insults, and equally prompt to forgive, whenever an appeal was made to his clemency. No personal labor was too great to be endured, if by it he could elevate modest merit from poverty to comfort, or advance the interests and honor of his friends. No child of distress ever made an unsuccessful appeal to his charity. His rule was to give something in every case, but to regulate the amount by the necessities which urged the call.

“Few men have felt such perfect contempt for show and display as Mr. Crawford. His dress was always plain, and never in his way. Indeed he gave himself no care whatever about what he should wear. After marriage he referred the subject of dress to Mrs. Crawford, who was as plain and unaffected in her taste as himself. Though his situation in public life often required him, out of respect to the custom of the country, and to avoid the charge of eccentricity, to keep up a style and equipage of unrivalled splendor, it was manifest that his heart was not in it; nor does any one at all acquainted with the man believe for a moment that his opposition to these things proceeded from penuriousness or any kindred sentiment. He was a man of unquestioned liberality. He was seldom known to ask the price of anything, and never considered anything dear that added to the pleasure and comfort of himself or family. At an early age he imbibed the sentiment that dandyism and intellectuality were antagonistic traits of character, and he was heard to say a short time before his death that, amidst an extensive acquaintance with men of distinction in this country and in Europe, he had seen but two dandies who were men of genius.” [It is very probable that William Pinkney, of Maryland, was one of the dandies of genius.] “Modest virtue, sound sense, and stern integrity were the surest passports to his esteem. With these a poor man was a prince in

his affections; without them, a prince was the poorest of all beings.

"Mr. Crawford's house has often been styled 'Liberty Hall' by those familiar with the unrestrained mirthfulness, hilarity and social glee which marked his fireside; and the perfect freedom with which every child, from the eldest to the youngest, expressed his or her opinion upon the topics suggested by the moment, whether those topics referred to men or measures. His children were always encouraged to act out their respective characters, precisely as they were; and the actions and sentiments of each were always a fair subject of commendation or good-humored ridicule by the rest. They criticised the opinions and conduct of the father with the same freedom as those of each other, and he acknowledged his errors or argued his defence with the same kind of spirit and good temper as distinguished his course towards them in every other case. The family government was one of the best specimens of democracy the world has ever seen. There was nothing like faction in the establishment. According to the last census, before marriage and emigration commenced, the population was ten, consisting of father and mother and eight children, of whom five are sons and three daughters. Suffrage on all questions was universal, extending to male and female. Freedom of speech and equal rights were felt and acknowledged to be the birthright of each. Knowledge was a common stock, to which each felt a peculiar pleasure in contributing according as opportunity enabled him. When afflictions or misfortunes came, each bore a share in the common burden. When health and prosperity returned, each became emulous of heightening the common joy. Chess, draughts and other games involving calculation and judgment, and plays which called for rapid thought, quick perception and ready answers, formed sources of the indoor amusements. Those requiring rigor of nerve and agility of muscle were performed upon the green. In all these sports

upon the green and in the house, Mr. Crawford was, even down to his last days, the companion of his children, delighting them often by taking part himself. Though the disease of which he suffered so much while at Washington deprived him of his activity, his zeal for the gratification of his children, and his delight in contributing all he could to their happiness knew no abatement. As a husband, he was kind, affectionate and devoted. He was never ostentatious in his attachments to any one, always evincing his regard more by substantial beneficence than by words. No parent was ever better loved by his children than he. His home instructions were of incalculable advantage to them. He never contented himself with merely sending them to schools of highest and best repute, but made a personal examination of them almost every day, that he might see how they progressed and how they were taught. He was in the habit of drawing them around him in a class and requiring them to read with him. On these occasions the Bible was his chief class-book, and Job and Psalms his favorite portions. At no time of his life did he ever lose sight of the importance of storing the minds of his children with virtuous principles. The strict observance of truth, the maintenance of honor, generosity and integrity of character, he never ceased to enjoin upon them as indispensable to respectability and happiness.

"It is not within the knowledge of any of his children that he was ever guilty of profane swearing. He never made a profession of religion, but was a decided believer in Christianity, a life member of the American Bible Society, and a regular contributor to the support of the Gospel."

When was there ever drawn a nobler sketch of the head, heart and person of a great man, than the above extract contains? William H. Crawford was, indeed, a most lovable and exalted character. Well may Georgia be proud of him. No wonder that he won all hearts

in Congress and his State Legislature. His talents and his virtues did this, and not that cunning and intrigue which rivals attributed to him. They were foreign to such a nature, and never were combined with high talents and lofty virtues. He was Jefferson's favorite candidate for the Presidency in 1824, in preference to Adams, Jackson, Clay and Calhoun.

Twice was Mr. Crawford engaged in an affair of honor. Once with Van Allen, a cousin of President Van Buren; and a second time with Governor Clark, of Georgia. In the first, his antagonist was fatally wounded; and in the second he himself was wounded in the arm. This latter duel gave rise to the Clark and Troup parties, which divided Georgia for many years.

The death of Mr. Crawford occurred on the 15th September, 1834. He had started on his circuit to hold court, was taken sick at the house of a friend, and the next day died of heart disease. "His remains," says his memoir, written in 1839, "lie buried under a plain mound of earth, at his residence, Woodlawn, where he had lived since 1802, except when public employment required his residence abroad or in Washington." No tombstone or inscription then marked his grave. It is to be hoped that his family or the State of Georgia has since that time, erected a monument over his grave.

PATRICK HENRY.

There is a Latin maxim that a man must be born a poet, or he cannot make one—" *Poeta nascitur non est.*" This is equally true as to the orator. A man must be born an orator, or he will never become one. Learning and culture may greatly improve eloquence, as they did in the case of William Pinckney of Maryland, and Hugh S. Legare, of South Carolina. They may also beautify and ornament poetry, as they did in Milton, who possessed all learning and culture. We know nothing of Homer, the greatest of all poets. He may have been learned and accomplished in his day and time for what we know.

Patrick Henry was a born orator. He has the reputation of having been the greatest of all our Revolutionary orators, and they were many and eloquent and great. He never had much learning or culture. In early youth his education was defective, and throughout life he was lazy and idle. Jefferson says his associates were overseers, and rough, ignorant men. How he acquired his agreeable manners and pleasing address was a mystery to him. But it should not have been more of a mystery than his eloquence. Both were Nature's gifts, born with him. Very often, in the humblest walks of life, we meet with manners and address which would do honor to a prince. They are natural, like honesty and nobility of character. Some men are born clowns and fools, and never can become anything else. So, too, there are some who are born rascals and rogues, and never can change their nature. Education and association may disguise bad qualities, but they will occasionally peep out. In other words, Nature will, in the end, assert herself.

Mr. Henry was born May 29, 1736, four years after the birth of Washington, in Hanover County, Virginia. His father, Colonel John Henry, was a native of Aberdeen, Scotland, and the nephew of William Robertson, the great historian. Consequently, Patrick Henry and Lord Brougham were second cousins, both being grand nephews of the historian. It may likewise be stated that Mr. Henry was the grand uncle of that brilliant orator and accomplished scholar and gentleman, Colonel William C. Preston, United States Senator from South Carolina, and President of her College. The father of Patrick Henry was a great loyalist before the American Revolution, and took great pride in toasting King George, and addressing his regiment on their duty and allegiance to the crown. The mother of Patrick Henry was a Winston. She had married Colonel John Lyme, and after his death, married Colonel John Henry, who was living with her first husband at the time of his death. They had nine children, and Patrick was the second. The Winstons were remarkable for their eloquence. A gentleman said to Mr. Wirt, the biographer of Patrick Henry, that William Winston, the brother of Mrs. Henry, was the most eloquent man he had ever heard except Patrick Henry.

Colonel John Henry was in very moderate circumstances, and could not afford to give his children a collegiate education. Patrick was sent to an "old field school" until he was ten years old. His father then opened a grammar school in his own house. He was well educated, and under his tuition Patrick learned mathematics and Latin. But he never manifested any disposition to study or read whilst a boy. He was fond of hunting and fishing, and for these purposes frequently absented himself from school. When thirteen years old his father placed him behind the counter, in a country merchant's store. Then, at the age of fifteen, he and his elder brother, William, were set up in business as merchants by their father. In a short time they failed

in business, but this did not depress the spirits or chill the affections of the great orator in embryo. At eighteen he married a Miss Shelton, the daughter of a poor farmer in the neighborhood. Their parents settled them on a little farm with two or three slaves. But his idleness and want of method as a merchant stuck to him as a farmer. In a short time he sold his farm, and once more turned merchant. His idle habits and his ill luck followed him again, and in a few years he was again a bankrupt. His kind heart and generous nature would not permit him to refuse credit to any one. He would shut up his store and be in the chase for game, or lie all day on the banks of some stream, watching the cork on his line for "a glorious nibble."

As a last resort, he thought he would turn his attention to the law as a means of livelihood. He was then twenty-three years old, and no doubt had several children. After reading five or six months, he was reluctantly admitted to the bar by his examiners. Chancellor Wythe positively refused to sign his certificate on account of his ignorance in the profession. For three years he met with no success at the bar. During this time he lived with his father-in-law, who kept a hotel, and he assisted in the business of the house.

The first case of any importance in which Mr. Henry was engaged in court was the celebrated "parsons case." It occurred in 1763, when he was twenty-seven years old. The Episcopal church was the established religion of Virginia, and the pastor of each church received sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco as a salary. Tobacco became very high, and the Legislature gave a sum of money in lieu of it. This act was vetoed by the King, and the clergy brought suit for the tobacco. The case was argued by Mr. Lewis for the people on a demurrer. The demurrer was overruled, and Mr. Lewis, a very distinguished and learned lawyer, abandoned the case as hopeless. Mr. Henry was then employed, and the court-house was crowded with anxious spectators.

Thirty of the parsons were present to witness their triumph. The uncle of Patrick Henry was one of them. He went to his uncle and told him to go home, or he would hear things unpleasant to him. His father was one of the county court Judges. The son opened the case awkwardly, and his friends hung their heads. The parsons looked at each other and smiled in triumph. But soon a change came over them and the court and the crowded audience.

The following is Mr. Wirt's description of the young barrister: "Now were those wonderful faculties which he possessed for the first time developed; and now was first witnessed that mysterious and almost supernatural transformation of appearance which the fire of his own eloquence never failed to work in him. For, as his mind rolled along, and began to glow from its own action, all the *exercise* of the clown seemed to shed themselves spontaneously. His attitude by degrees became erect and lofty. The spirit of his genius awakened all his features. His countenance shone with a nobleness and grandeur which it had never before exhibited. There was a lightning in his eyes which seemed to rive the spectator. His action became graceful, bold and commanding; and in the tones of his voice, but more especially in his emphasis, there was a peculiar charm, a magic, of which any one who ever knew him will speak as soon as he is named, but of which no one can give any adequate description. They can only say that it struck upon the ear and upon the heart *in a manner which language cannot tell*. Add to all these his wonder-working fancy and the peculiar phraseology in which he clothed his images; for he pointed to the heart with a force that almost petrified it. In the language of those who heard him on this occasion, 'he made their blood run cold and their hair to rise on end.'"

The parsons could stand it no longer, and ran out of the house. The jury had scarcely left the bar when they returned with a verdict of "*One penny damages.*"

A motion was made for a new trial and refused by the court, who seemed to have lost the equipoise of their judgment. The crowd took hold of Mr. Henry, carried him out of court, hoisted him on their shoulders, and marched through the streets as conquering hero. He was immediately retained in all the leading cases on his circuit, and styled "the orator of nature."

In 1765, on the passage of the Stamp Act, he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses. He was almost entirely unknown to the rich planters with whom he was now associated, "and they looked with contempt and scorn on the awkward youth in leather knee breeches and a homespun coat, who ventured to assume the post of leader in an august assemblage." He wrote hurriedly, on the fly leaf of an old book, his famous and immortal resolutions against the right of the British Parliament to tax the colonies. The best patriots received the resolutions with a tempest of opposition. They were declared extreme, impolitic and dangerous. Mr. Jefferson says the debate was "most bloody." In the midst of the discussion Mr. Henry thundered: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third"—"Treason!" cried the speaker, "treason! treason!" echoed from every part of the House—"may profit by their example. If this be treason make the most of it!" The resolutions were carried by a majority of one. The sceptre had departed from the rich planters, and was now wielded by a county court lawyer. From this time Patrick Henry became a power in the State.

In 1774 Mr. Henry was appointed by the Virginia Convention to meet the delegates of the other colonies in a Continental Congress in Philadelphia. Washington, Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, Pendleton, Wythe and Bland were his colleagues. When this august assembly met, the members were personally unknown to each other, and there was, for some time after their organization, an awkward and painful silence.

Mr. Henry rose, as if borne down with the weight of the subject which had called them together, and launched out into a recital of the colonial wrongs. "Rising as he advanced," says Mr. Wirt, "with the grandeur of his subject, and glowing at length with all the majesty and expectation of the occasion, his speech seemed more than that of mortal man. Even those who had heard him in all his glory, in the House of Burgesses of Virginia, were astonished at the manner in which his talents seemed to swell and expand themselves to fill the roster theatre in which he was now placed. There was no rant, no rhapsody, no labor of the understanding, no straining of the voice, no confusion of the utterance. His countenance was erect, his eye steady, his action noble, his enunciation clear and firm, his mind poised on its centre, his view of his subject comprehensive and great, and his imagination with a magnificence and a variety which struck even that assembly with amazement and awe. He sat down amidst murmurs of astonishment and applause; and as he had been before proclaimed the greatest orator of Virginia, he was now, on every hand, admitted to be the first orator of America."

Mr. Henry was appointed to draw up a petition to the king. Here he failed, and his draft was referred to John Dickinson, who penned that imperishable document. Richard Henry Lee followed Mr. Henry in a speech of surpassing eloquence, and he was appointed to draw up an address to the people of Great Britain. His paper was a failure also, and had to be recast by John Jay. After this the members of the Convention, who had been thrilled with the eloquence of the Demosthenes and Cicero of Virginia, and had said, "we might as well go home, for we are not able to legislate with these men," changed their opinions, and remarked, "well, after all, we find these are but men, and in mere matters of business *but very common men*."

It has been said that the talents of speaking and

writing are not united in the same person. But this is a mistake; they were united in an eminent degree in Demosthenes and Cicero, the greatest of ancient orators. A man who speaks well can write well, if he has been educated and has stored his mind with learning and useful information. But the able writer may not be an orator at all; and hundreds of instances might be enumerated.

In 1775 the Virginia Convention assembled again, and Mr. Henry submitted resolutions to organize the militia and put the Old Dominion in a condition of military defence. This was alarming, and shocked some of the best patriots in the convention. It was then that Henry said: "There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free we must fight—I repeat, sir, we must fight. An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. Our chains are forged. Their clanking may be heard upon the plains of Boston. The war is inevitable—and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come! Gentlemen may cry peace, peace—but there is no peace. The war has actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God. I know not what course others may take, but as for myself," cried he, with both arms extended aloft, his brow knit, every feature marked with the resolute purpose of his soul, and his voice swelled to its loudest note of exclamation, "GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH!"

Henry, Washington, Lee and others were appointed to organize the militia. When the Governor, Lord Dunmore, sent in the night time and secretly removed a large quantity of powder from the magazine in Williamsburg, Henry ordered out the Hanover militia, and marched at their head to recapture the powder. Five

thousand men joined him on his march towards the capital. He was anxious to strike a blow and make the issue at once. But Lord Dunmore sent messengers to Henry, and compromised the difficulty by paying for the powder. He was in the Congress of 1775, but did not make himself so conspicuous. In 1776 he was a delegate to the Virginia Convention, and two months before the Declaration of Independence was made, he introduced resolutions instructing the Congressional delegates from Virginia to vote for Independence.

In 1776 he was elected the first Republican Governor of Virginia and was re-elected several times. In 1788 he was a member of the State Convention called to consider the adoption of the Federal Constitution. He opposed the Constitution with all his eloquence for several days. His speeches are to be seen in "Elliot's Debates" on the adoption of the Federal Constitution in all the state conventions. It must be admitted that they do not sustain his great reputation as an orator or debater. The speeches of Madison and Chief Justice Marshall are greatly superior in every point of view to those of Mr. Henry. In 1795 he was tendered the appointment of Secretary of State by Washington, which he declined. He also declined the Mission to France which was offered him by President Adams. In 1798 he was for the fourth time elected Governor of Virginia, which he also declined. In 1799 he became a candidate for the Virginia Senate in opposition to Madison's resolutions on the rights of the States. John Randolph met him on this occasion in the canvass. Henry's speech was regarded as a most powerful one against the doctrines of the resolutions of 1798. An old man said to him "your sun has set in all its glory." He was elected to the Senate, but died before he took his seat.

Patrick Henry was twice married and had fifteen children. He first married a Miss Shelton, as I have already stated, and by her had six children. She died after he had become a great man, and he then married

a Miss Dandridge, no doubt a relation of Mrs. Washington's, whose maiden name was Dandridge. By her he had nine children, six sons and three daughters who all survived him. After his death, his widow married Judge Winston, a cousin of Henry's. Henry was a remarkably kind father and husband. In his old age he has been found lying on his back in the parlor playing his fiddle, with a half-dozen children dancing and romping around him seeing who could make the most noise. He left all of his children rich, says his biographer, by his speculations in lands. He must have a great many descendants now living. Some years ago I was introduced to a great grandson of his who was the agent of a newspaper. He told me he did not like to mention his descent, for he regarded it a reflection on his position and standing in the community.

The following is a description of Patrick Henry: "Nearly six feet high, spare, raw-boned, and slightly stooping in his shoulders, he gave no indication of the majesty and grace which characterized his appearance when his genius was aroused. His complexion was sallow, his countenance grave, thoughtful, stern in repose, and marked with the lines of deep and painful reflection. His brows were habitually contracted, and communicated to his features an air of forbidding sternness and severity. The mouth, with closely compressed lips and deep furrows at the corners, was set in an expression of unyielding resolution. When he spoke, however, a wonderful change passed over him."

Patrick Henry is said to have been a devout Christian. He read a sermon to his family every Sunday evening, and published at his own expense for distribution, "Butler's Analogy." He was kind, good-natured, and possessed a great deal of dry humor. He was fond of music, affable to all men, and had no pride or hauteur in his nature. He indulged in none of the vices of high living, then so prevalent in Virginia. He made war against aristocracy, and was emphatically the "tribune of the people," by whom he was almost idolized.

I had always been under the impression until I saw his statue in Richmond, that he had a long, sharp face. This statue represents him with a broad forehead, and a full, round face. His life has been written by two of the most distinguished orators of America, William Wirt and Alexander H. Everett.

Mr. Jefferson said Patrick Henry was the greatest orator the world had ever produced. It is a little remarkable that Henry, Demosthenes and Cicero were all in their twenty-seventh year, when they first distinguished themselves as great orators. It would seem from this that eloquence of the highest order was slow in developing itself. Henry Clay, the great modern orator of the West, and Patrick Henry, were both born in the same county of Virginia, and almost in the same neighborhood, "the Slashes." It is time for Hanover to produce another great orator. Perhaps she will in another half century. There is no end to the productiveness of Virginia in great men. Illustrious are the names of her sons, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, William H. Crawford, Henry Clay, General Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Chief Justice Marshall, and hundreds of others.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Amongst all the eminent American statesmen there have been none greater intellectually than Alexander Hamilton. I well remember that Governor McDuffie, more than forty years ago, expressed this same opinion in a speech which he made in Congress on the tariff question. Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Calhoun, Clay and Webster died when they were sixty, seventy and eighty years old. But Alexander Hamilton died under a false sense of honor, when he was only forty-six years old. In that short period of human existence, when the English think that a statesman or barrister is just beginning to enter the arena of fame, Hamilton had achieved all his greatness in war, at the bar, in the halls of legislation, as a cabinet minister and as a voluminous public writer of unsurpassed ability. His writings have been published by his son in six large volumes, and they are a monument of his genius and ability as a statesman.

Jefferson and Hamilton were great rivals in politics, and bitter enemies. They traduced each other very much in life, and on the part of Mr. Jefferson his calumnies were continued after the death of his opponent. Hamilton was at the head of the Federal party, and Jefferson was the great leader of the Republican or Democratic party. They were both members of Washington's cabinet, and came into it every day pitted against each other. Washington generally sided with Hamilton, and Jefferson could bear his daily defeats no longer, and retired from the cabinet to organize his party more effectually throughout the United States. In the contest for the Presidency between Jefferson and Burr, there is a noble letter from Hamilton to Senator

Bayard of Delaware, showing his magnanimity and patriotism. The Federal party in Congress were supporting Colonel Burr in the contested election, knowing that he had not received a single vote for the Presidency. Their object was to divide and break down the Republican party, and disappoint and mortify its great leader. Hamilton had too much greatness of soul and love of country to engage in such a conspiracy. He was willing to sacrifice all personal hostility at the altar of his country's good. In his letter to Bayard he says: "Jefferson has done more to blacken my character and injure my fame than any other man in America, but he will be governed by principle if elected President of the United States. Colonel Burr has no principle, in morals or politics, and if elected, I firmly believe he will attempt the liberties of the Republic." How true and how prophetic was this expression. He hated Jefferson with a bitter hatred, and at that time had no such feeling against Burr, but he knew Colonel Burr to be a man of no principle, and thought that he would attempt the liberties of his country if placed in the Presidential chair. He thought Jefferson would be governed by principle and the Republic would be safe under his administration. Therefore he advised the Federal party to abandon Colonel Burr and let Jefferson be declared President, as he had been unquestionably elected. It would have been a noble act of magnanimity, worth more in fame than the Presidency, if President Hayes could have acted in a similar manner in the last Presidential election, and advised his Republican party to let Governor Tilden be declared President, as he was unquestionably elected.

Alexander Hamilton was in favor of a strong Federal government, but he was no monarchist or lover of an empire, as has been charged against him. It is true he doubted, at the beginning of our republican experiment, and so did Washington, the wisdom and virtue of the people of the United States to govern

themselves and sustain a pure Republican form of government. But he was, no doubt, like Washington, who said he himself was ready "to lay down his life to see the experiment have a fair trial." At that time great allowance must be made for this want of confidence in the people to maintain a Republican form of government. Ancient history proved that all attempts of this kind were short lived and failures in the end. All the governments in the world for five thousand years past, had been, with few and brief exceptions, anything but Republican in form. It was not properly considered that the American people were differently situated from all other nations. They were all upon an equality, and no great fortunes amongst them. They were likewise far ahead of the Europeans in general intelligence and virtue, with the masses. They had not been divided into two classes, known in the old countries as the oppressors and oppressed.

In order to have a stable government, Hamilton at one time thought it would be necessary to have the President and Senators elected for life, like the Judiciary. He was also in favor of giving to the President the appointment of the Governors of the States, who should have a veto on all State legislation. But he soon abandoned all these notions, and was a firm and sincere advocate of the Federal Constitution in all its provisions. He did more than any one else in explaining and causing the Constitution of the United States to be adopted by the American people. For this purpose he wrote and published most of the very able articles now known as the "Federalist." Chief Justice Jay wrote five of the numbers and President Madison twenty, and all the rest were written by Hamilton. It is more than likely that the Federal Constitution would not have been adopted, but for these essays explaining every feature and principle of the Federal plan of government.

Alexander Hamilton was born in the Island of Nevis, West Indies, January 11, 1757. His father was a Scotch-

man and belonged to the distinguished and ancient house of Hamilton, in that Kingdom. He was a merchant, failed in his business, and passed the remainder of his life in poverty and dependence. The mother of Alexander was of French Huguenot descent, and the daughter of a doctor, Faucette, a practicing physician in the Island of Nevis. She was a lady of great beauty and great intellect, verifying the remark that a great man has always had a great mother. She was forced by her parents, when very young, to give her hand in marriage to a Dane, named Lavine, on account of his wealth. Soon, however, she sued for a divorce and was married to James Hamilton, the father of Alexander. She died in his childhood, and her relatives took charge of her infant child. He was taught the rudiments of the French and English languages, both of which he spoke fluently, and at the age of twelve years he was placed in a counting-house. He had no fondness for the life of a merchant, and a remarkable letter of his written at this early age, is given by his son in his history of the Republic, as traced in the writings of his father in six volumes. In this letter, addressed to his dear friend Edward Stevens, then in New York, he says: "To confess my weakness, Ned, my ambition is prevalent, so that I condemn the grovelling condition of a clerk or the like, to which my fortune condemns me, and would risk my life, though not my character, to exalt my station. I mean to prepare the way for futurity. I wish there was a war."

Although he continued what he considered his grovelling condition, yet he made such progress in it that at the age of thirteen he was left at the head of the establishment by Mr. Cruger, when he paid a visit to New York. He employed all his spare time in reading. Plutarch and Pope were his favorite authors. He studied mathematics and chemistry, and occasionally used his pen. An article written by him, giving an account of a most terrible hurricane which visited one of the West

India Islands in 1772, attracted great public attention, and was the cause of his being sent to New York to finish his education. He was then only fifteen years old. After some preparation at a grammar school in New Jersey, he entered what is now known as Columbia College, in the city of New York. Besides his regular studies he attended lectures on anatomy, with a view of studying medicine as his profession in after life. While thus engaged the American Revolution commenced, and young Hamilton addressed a public meeting in New York, which drew attention to him. Soon afterwards he wrote and published a pamphlet, in reply to some strictures on the first American Congress, which evinced so much ability, scholarship and statesman-like views, that it was attributed to Chief Justice Jay.

In March, 1776, when he was only nineteen years old, he obtained the commission of a captain of artillery, and his last remittance from Santa Cruz was spent in equipping this company. In the campaign which followed, Hamilton took an active part, and was in the battles of White Plains, Trenton and Princeton. Whilst constructing some earth-works, he attracted the notice of Washington, and was invited by the Commander-in-Chief to his headquarters. Washington through life, seemed to have, like Napoleon, an intuitive knowledge of merit and rising genius. He invited young Hamilton to accept a place in his military family as one of his aides-de-camp. From that day to the day of his death, Washington gave him his confidence and patronage. He was his favorite in war and in civil life. Washington confided more in him, and was more influenced by his opinions and advice, than any one else. When it was supposed that a war between France and the United States was imminent, Washington was appointed Lieutenant-General by President Adams, with power to select all his general officers. He gave Hamilton the first position in the army, next

to himself, and over the head of Knox, Pinckney and the senior Generals of the Revolution. There could not have been given any higher evidence of Washington's confidence in the genius, patriotism and ability of Hamilton. The Father of his country never was known to bestow office on an unworthy man. When Madison and Monroe called on him, as delegates of the democratic party, to appoint Colonel Burr Minister to France, he said to them, I have made it a rule through life to give no appointment to a man in whose integrity and principles I have no confidence. I will appoint you, Mr. Madison, or you, Mr. Monroe, but not Colonel Burr.

In the organization of the Federal Government, after the first election of Washington, Hamilton is entitled to more credit than any one else. His reports on the national debt, foreign and domestic, the assumption of the State debts, the establishment of a National Bank, an excise duty on domestic spirits, and levying a duty on foreign importations, with a view to discriminate on certain manufactures, are all unsurpassed in ability. His discriminating protection of domestic manufactures did not exceed ten per cent. No one would ever have complained of this, but this protective duty was afterwards raised to fifty and one hundred per cent.

In 1780 Alexander Hamilton, then in his twenty-third year, married the second daughter of General Schuyler, and thereby became connected with the first and wealthiest families of New York. He was admitted to the bar in 1782 and immediately stood at its head. He was about the same time elected by the New York Legislature a member of the old Congress. On his retirement from the office of Secretary of the Treasury he resumed the practice of his profession in New York, and there came in competition with Aaron Burr. Hamilton knew Burr well, and knew his ambition, his intrigues and his utter want of principle. When he lost his popularity with the republican party, by contesting the Presidency with Jefferson, it was proposed by

the Federal party of New York to elect him Governor of that State. In a convention of the Federalists for the purpose of nominating Colonel Burr for Governor, Hamilton opposed the nomination and defeated it. This determined Burr to seek personal revenge, and he got hold of certain expressions of Hamilton which he made the foundation of a challenge. Hamilton was opposed to duelling, but said it was absolutely necessary to yield to public opinion, and that he might destroy his usefulness in future life, if he declined to accept the challenge. This might be a good excuse for a young man just entering public life. But Hamilton had passed through the whole of the Revolutionary war, and had shown on every battle-field true courage and bravery. He had established, too, a character for honor and truth that was above suspicion and known to the whole American people.

I remember to have read somewhere an account of a public dinner at which Hamilton and Burr were both present, only a few days before their fatal meeting. Hamilton was described as being calm and dignified. No one would have supposed that there was anything particular on his mind. He sang a song at the table and appeared to be in his usual spirits, whilst Burr appeared nervous and uneasy. Mrs. Hamilton lived fifty years after the death of her husband, and died when she was ninety-seven years old. They had six children.

Hamilton shared in life the fate of all politicians and statesmen. He was idolized by his friends and partisans, and bitterly hated and denounced by his opponents and enemies. Jefferson did a great deal to blacken his character, as he stated in his letter to Bayard, urging the Federalists to vote for Jefferson. Hamilton no doubt said some hard things of Jefferson. But the good opinion of Washington should have more influence in forming our opinion of Hamilton than all that his political opponents have said against him.

I remember once, reading in Jefferson's works, a

remark of Hamilton's, which was thought to be very odious, and which I thought at the time contained a great deal of truth. Adams remarked that the British Government, purged of its rotten boroughs and their corruption would do very well. Hamilton replied that it did better without this purging, or something to that effect. The truth was that a great deal of the talent in the House of Commons came from these rotten boroughs. Young men of promise were sent from these rotten boroughs who could not get into Parliament otherwise.

A writer says very truly that friends and foes united in awarding Hamilton the greatest ability as a public writer, as a Cabinet Minister, as a public speaker and as a lawyer. The following description of his person has been given by the same writer: "He was under the middle size, thin in person and very erect, courtly and dignified in his bearing. His figure though slight, was well-proportioned and graceful. His complexion was very delicate and fair, his cheeks rosy and the whole expression pleasing and cheerful. His voice was musical, his manner frank and cordial. He excelled equally as a writer and speaker."

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

There is no grander character in all history, ancient or modern, than George Washington, commander-in-chief of the American forces during the Revolutionary war, and first President of the Republic of the United States. There may have been many who possessed more genius and learning than "the Father of his country," but there were none, no not one, who surpassed him in wisdom and unselfish ambition, or virtue and patriotism. He was indeed a noble character, surpassing all the military chieftains of Greece and Rome, or modern Europe, in the higher and nobler qualities of human nature. There have been statesmen more philosophical and profound than Washington, but none of them possessed in so eminent a degree as he did that purity and practical good sense, which are the basis of all wise statesmanship. This is the estimate of this great man's character, not only in America but in every kingdom of Europe.

It is well known, however, that at the close of the Revolutionary war, when General Armstrong wrote his Newberg address to the soldiers of the Continental army, Washington could have seized imperial power, and made himself a throne in the United States. But instead of doing so he hastened to Annapolis, where Congress had assembled, and resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of their armies. How different from Cæsar and Napoleon, Cromwell and Alexander, and all the other great conquerors and generals of the world. Instead of seizing the sceptre of the Republic, although he doubted the ability of the people to govern themselves, he said he would lay down his life to test

the experiment which they were making. A fair trial was given, and he lived to see the glorious results.

Washington Irving, the great biographer of George Washington, has traced his family in England through a long line of illustrious ancestors, up to the century immediately succeeding the Norman conquest. William de Hertburn was the progenitor of the Washington family in England about the year 1180, seven hundred years since. He was a Norman, and took his name from the village of Hertburn, on the palatinate, which he held of the Bishop in knight's fee. This possession he afterwards exchanged for the manor and village of Wessington. This old Saxon name was changed to Washington, and finally to that of Washington. Sir William Washington married the sister of the Duke of Buckingham, the favorite of Charles First, and owing to this connection the Washingtons took sides with the King in the civil war and great rebellion of England. In order to escape the vengeance of Cromwell, John and Andrew Washington, two brothers, came to America and settled in Virginia, which was a favorite place of refuge for the cavaliers of England during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell. They arrived in Virginia in 1657, and purchased lands in Westmoreland County. John married Miss Annie Pope, and became an extensive planter. His grandson, Augustine Washington, was the father of General George Washington. He was twice married, first to Miss Jane Butler, and secondly to Miss Mary Ball, the mother of George Washington. She was a most beautiful and intellectual young lady, and said to have been the belle of that region of country. He had, by his first wife, four children, and by his last, four sons and two daughters, of whom George was the eldest, born February 22, 1732, at the family residence of his great-grandfather, on Bridges Creek where it empties into the Potomac.

The only education which George Washington received was at an "old field school." He never attempted to

learn the languages. His brother Lawrence was sent to England and there received a finished education, returned home and married the daughter of the Hon. William Fairfax, the cousin of Lord Fairfax. His father died when George was only eleven years old, and this sad event interfered with his education abroad. He was left entirely under the charge of his mother, who was a very strict disciplinarian. From this mother his biographer says he inherited his high temper, which, however, he controlled through life. He also inherited from her his love of truth, independence of character, and high moral virtues. Whilst a boy he was fond of all athletic sports, such as running, leaping, wrestling, pitching quoits, etc. He was of a muscular frame and excelled in horsemanship. His half-brother Lawrence had raised a regiment and served in the West Indies under Admiral Vernon. His conversations with George on his return home inspired him with military ardor, which he displayed at school as captain of his playmates. When fifteen years old he obtained a midshipman's commission in the English navy, and was about setting sail for the West Indies when his mother revoked her consent and induced him to remain at home. He then turned his attention to surveying, and spent a great deal of his time at Mount Vernon in the family of his half-brother Lawrence.

About this time, when he was about sixteen or seventeen years old, he seems to have been desperately in love with his "Lowland Beauty." He composed some "homespun poetry," which he addressed to her. In his letters to his young companions he tells of his grief and pain and despair. He found in the family of William Fairfax, a most lovely and interesting young lady, Miss Carey, the sister of Colonel George Fairfax's wife. But he says he was afraid to cultivate her acquaintance, as it would only remind him of his "Lowland Beauty," and renew his grief. It is rather odd to think of the grand and stately commander-in-chief of the American forces,

with all his dignity and austerity, having been a lovesick swain, writing "homespun poetry" to his flame, and confessing to his companions his love, his grief and despair. But Washington was a man of strong feelings and ardent temperament, pure and natural in all his conceptions and actions. Such a man is liable to become the very soul of love. His "Lowland Beauty" was a Miss Grimes of Westmoreland, and afterwards the mother of General Henry Lee, the father of General Robert E. Lee of the Confederate army. This son of his "Lowland Beauty" was a great favorite of Washington's in the army and through life on account of his remembrance of his love for the mother, as well as for the son's high moral character and gallant services. Verifying the poet's expression that the heart that once truly loves can never forget.

Washington spent two or three years at Mount Vernon, in the family of William Fairfax and occasionally in that of Lord Fairfax, whilst he was surveying his immense landed estate. There is no doubt that this association in early life, with the proud aristocracy of England had something to do in forming his dignified character and austere manners in manhood. His brother Lawrence was also a highly accomplished gentleman. Lord Fairfax was a literary character and had written several numbers of Addison's *Spectator*. He was engaged to be married to a beautiful and high-born lady in England, the day appointed for the wedding and the company invited, when his betrothed abandoned him for a Ducal Coronet. This was such a mortification to his Lordship that he determined to abandon civilization and flee to America, where he had inherited, through his mother, who was a sister to Lord Culpepper, one of the first Governors of Virginia, an extensive landed estate. He brought with him a fine library, and, after spending some time with his cousin, William Fairfax, at Bellvoir near Mount Vernon, he settled in the Shenandoah Valley, at a place called Green Court, and spent his time in hunting and reading.

The health of Lawrence Washington becoming very feeble he went to the West Indies and took with him his half-brother George. This was the only time that Washington was ever out of the United States. Lawrence died soon after his return to Virginia, leaving a widow and daughter, and by his will gave all of his estate to George in case his daughter died in infancy. The widow and daughter both died soon afterwards, and George took possession of Mount Vernon and purchased a good deal of lands adjoining. He also added wings to the house which was originally a very small and plain building. It still had the appearance of a very humble mansion for so great a man, in 1867, when I had the pleasure of seeing it, and spending a day and night there. Everything was out of repair, the lawn, the garden and outbuildings, were all neglected. There was no portico or piazza to the front of the house, but a long piazza in the rear which commanded a magnificent view of the Potomac river, and vessels sailing on it. The bed-chamber of Washington, from which you can see miles down the river, was kept open for visitors to look at, and likewise the large dining-room added by the General. The beautiful Italian marble mantel-piece in this room had been barbarously mutilated by visitors who had taken pieces of it to carry home and show as relics. Such is the morality of civilized human nature. The key of the Bastile in Paris was hanging over the mantel-piece, protected by wire from being stolen or carried off. It was presented to Washington when the Bastile was destroyed.

Washington spent three years in surveying the wild lands of Lord Fairfax, and was a most accurate surveyor. He was accurate and systematic in everything throughout his whole life, public and private. And this was one cause of his great success. He taught himself early in life to submit to any hardship or deprivation. In a letter written to a friend whilst making his survey he says: "Since October last I have not slept above three or four

nights abed; but after walking a good deal all the day, I have lain down before the fire on a little hay, straw, fodder or bear skin, whichever was to be had, with man, wife and children, like dogs and eats, and happy is he who gets the berth nearest the fire."

When Washington was only nineteen he was commissioned as major and sent with a small force to look after the French on the Ohio. He captured the Fort Duquesne. The commander, Tremonsville, and ten of his men, were killed and twenty-two taken prisoners and sent to Williamsburg. He was promoted to the rank of colonel and had a force of four hundred men. In the meantime the French forces had been increased and attacked him in Fort Necessity. He had to capitulate but on the most favorable terms, and retired with his command to Virginia. In what is known as "Braddock's war," he acted as aid to the General, and after his disastrous defeat by the Indians, Washington saved the remnant of his army.

In February, 1756, Washington made a hurried visit to General Sherley, in Boston, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of all the British forces. His object was to have settled a question of precedence between officers commanding Provincial forces, and those commissioned by the Crown. On his way to and from Boston, he was the guest of Beverly Robinson in New York, who had been his school-fellow in their younger days. He was the brother of the Speaker of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, who made the memorable remark: "Sit down, Colonel Washington, your courage is only equaled by your modesty." This was said when Washington was attempting to return thanks to the House for their complimentary resolutions, and became so confused that he could not proceed. At the house of Mr. Beverly Robinson he became acquainted with his sister-in-law, Miss Mary Phillipse, whose great personal charms made a conquest of his heart. Five or six years had elapsed since his unfortunate love-

scrape with the "Lowland Beauty." But again he was destined to be disappointed. His brother aid at Braddock's defeat, Colonel Morris, became his rival and the husband of the young lady. In 1758, two years afterwards, he became engaged to his wife, Mrs. Martha Custis, daughter of Colonel Dandridge. She was about twenty-five years old and had four children, but still handsome and interesting. I have heard of another love affair of Washington's with Miss Bird, of Virginia. It would seem from all this that he was not insensible to female charms, and the young ladies whom he addressed were not conscious of his future greatness, or his addresses would not have been rejected.

Washington was for several years after his marriage a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses. In 1774 he was appointed a delegate to the first Continental Congress, and in 1775 was, on motion of John Adams, appointed commander-in-chief of all the Colonial and Continental forces. This was soon after the battle of Bunker's Hill. He immediately proceeded to Boston and took command of the army there. On the evacuation of Boston by the British, he marched his army to New York. But it is impossible in a sketch of this character to follow him through a seven years' war and give an account of his battles. No General ever showed more perseverance, patriotism and wisdom, and firmness under the most trying and distressing circumstances. In the winter of 1777 at Valley Forge, his army was reduced to about three thousand half-clad and half-starved soldiers, whose tracks in the snow were traced by the blood of their bare feet. The British army which he had to oppose, consisted of fifteen or twenty thousand well-disciplined troops, and supplied with all the necessities of an army. Intrigues and plots in Congress and in the army were formed against him. General Gates after his success at Saratoga, attempted to undermine his popularity; and General Lee, at the battle of Monmouth, was strongly suspected of playing false to him.

Chancellor De Saussure told me many years ago the following anecdote relative to Washington and Lee at the battle of Monmouth. There was an old officer of Washington's who was devoted to him and said he was a model man in every respect. This officer was habitually profane in his language in conversation. Long after the war was over a friend thought to rebuke him for his profanity, and said, "you never heard Washington curse or swear." The old officer hesitated a moment, and replied, "never but once, sir. That was at the battle of Monmouth, and I never heard good cursing before or since; he swore like an angel." This was a burst of passion at General Lee for not bringing up his command in time to take part in the battle. General Lafayette said he called Lee "a damned paltrion." Another version is that Washington dashed up to Lee, and using emphatic language, inquired why he had not brought up his division sooner. Lee replied he did not think it prudent. Washington, with an insinuation of cowardice, remarked: "you have been extremely prudent, General Lee." Thereupon Lee straightened himself up, and replied, "I know of no one, sir, who possesses more of that rascally virtue than your Excellency." It was not cowardice on the part of General Lee, but treachery. He thought by delay Washington would have to retreat and then he would come in and gain all the credit of the victory. General Charles Lee was an English officer and appointed second in command to Washington. Facts since developed show that he was a traitor throughout the war till he was suspended of his command by a court martial. On hearing the sentence of the court, he said, "I wish I was a dog so that I could not call man my brother."

During the whole war Washington returned home but once. If his example had been followed by every officer and soldier in the Confederate army results might have been different. After the close of the war Washington retired to Mount Vernon, and for five or

six years enjoyed the peace and quiet of domestic happiness. He always took a great interest in agriculture and the improvement of his farm. The Commissioners of Maryland and Virginia met to arrange about the boundary of the two States, and after they had transacted their business they paid a visit to Mount Vernon, and it was there decided, with the consent of Washington, that a convention of the States should be called to amend the Articles of Confederation. Five States sent delegates for this purpose, who met at Annapolis, and proposed that all the States should send delegates to meet in New York. Washington consented to be a member of this convention, and was unanimously elected President of it. No doubt his name attached to the Federal Constitution gave it great consideration with the people. There was great opposition to the adoption of the Federal Constitution in all of the States. The people thought it was encroaching on the rights of the States, and would end in a monarchy.

When adopted there was no division as to who should be the President. Washington was unanimously elected and with great reluctance consented to serve. Patriotic motives alone induced him to continue in the office a second term. He selected a very able cabinet. Jefferson, who had more learning, democracy, tact and diplomacy than any one else, was appointed Secretary of State. Alexander Hamilton, who had more intellectual ability and conservatism than all others, was placed at the head of the Treasury Department. General Knox, an officer of genius and experience, was appointed Secretary of War. Edmund Randolph, a great lawyer, orator and statesman, was Attorney-General. In his cabinet he would always ask the opinion of each member, and then make up his own decision. It was said that Jefferson would try to impress his own opinions on the members of his cabinet.

It would seem that Washington's life was a most

glorious and happy one. But he was known to say that he would not be willing to live his life over again. Franklin said he would be, if permitted to make some corrections in the second edition. What corrections were there for Washington to make in his pure, moral and patriotic life? He is said to have been a sincere Christian and communicant of the Episcopal Church. He died in the sixty-eighth year of his life, in December, 1799. I have no doubt he was killed by his physicians. They bled him to death to stop a cold. He said to Dr. Craik, "I die hard, but I am not afraid to go." To Mr. Lear, his private secretary, he said, "I am going, have me decently buried, and do not let my body be put into the vault till three days after I am dead." He inquired of Mr. Lear if he understood him, and on being assured he did, he said, "*it is well.*" These were his last words. He died without a struggle.

The following description is given of his person : "In stature he was six feet two inches high, his person in youth spare, but well-proportioned, and never too stout for prompt and easy movement, his hair was brown, his eyes blue and far apart, his hands large, his arms uncommonly strong, the muscular development of his frame perfect. He was a bold, graceful horseman, and followed the hounds with eagerness and spirit. He was scrupulously attentive to the proprieties of dress and personal appearance. His manner was gracious and gentle, especially toward the young, with a certain military reserve in public circles. He was not voluble in conversation, nor yet unduly taciturn." He had no children, and emancipated all of his slaves at his death. He was as General Henry Lee said in his oration on his death, "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." His life and character are the admiration not only of America, but of Europe and the whole civilized world.

Howdon's statue of Washington in the capital at Richmond is said to be the most accurate representation

of him that we have. I have seen this statue several times and examined it closely. It does not seem to me to be a fair representation of his majestic form and intellectual features. The head is not large, and the forehead is retreating. The figure is altogether stiff and not graceful. The likenesses of Washington are very different, especially those taken when he was a young man, and those taken in after life. Those taken in old age are most commonly seen in engravings and books. His appearance when a young man is much more striking, according to his likenesses seen. The best engraving I have ever seen of Washington is that in Irving's Life of him. It comes up to my idea of the majesty and dignity of the man.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

This illustrious philosopher, statesman, patriot and philanthropist, is better known throughout the civilized world than any other American, save perhaps Washington, the hero and founder of the Republic. Franklin's experiments and discoveries in natural philosophy, and his useful inventions, induced the great Earl of Chatham to declare in the British Parliament that he ranked with Newton, Boyle, and the greatest names that had ever adorned philosophy. His useful inventions, simple experiments, and grand discoveries in science, have made his name familiar not only to the learned and scientific, but to the intelligent masses of mankind all over the world. The humblest peasant in Europe who never heard of Jefferson, Hamilton or Adams, knows Franklin by his experiments and discoveries in electricity, his lightning rod, and his useful inventions.

The early life of Franklin was written by himself, and is one of the best known and most interesting of all autobiographies. But his modesty prevented his continuing his life after he had achieved his greatness. He was willing to tell the world of his humble origin, the poverty and difficulties of his early life, his laborious industry as a mechanic, his own errors and misfortunes. But that natural unobtrusive modesty, which always belongs to true greatness, would not permit him to tell the honors paid him and the fame awarded him as a patriot, statesman, philosopher and benefactor of mankind. This was unfortunate so far as the reading world is concerned. Autobiography is the most interesting of all histories, and especially so of a great man. He knows his own life, of course, better than any one else,

and can give his history more correctly and more minutely.

James Parton, however, has written a life of Benjamin Franklin, which, in a great measure, is a continuation of his early autobiography. This gentleman seems to have a wonderful talent for writing the lives of great men. His "Life of Andrew Jackson," in three volumes, his "Life and Times of Aaron Burr," and his "Life of Benjamin Franklin," in two volumes, are unsurpassed in interest as biographies. He has a knack, somehow, of making everything interesting that he tells or touches. We all know how differently the same facts or story told by different persons will impress our minds. Whilst one in his narrative thrills our hearts with the deepest interest, another may put us to sleep in telling the same story, or relating the same facts. Mr. Parton never lets the interest of his work abate from beginning to end. The reader does not wish to lay down the book till he finishes it.

Mr. Parton not only has great tact in arranging his facts, and clothing them in beautiful language, but his research in hunting up and collecting his facts is worthy of all praise in one who undertakes to write the life of a great man. He has traced the family of Dr. Franklin in England for many generations through several centuries. The ancestors of the great American sage were blacksmiths for centuries, at Eaton, a small village sixty miles from London, in Northamptonshire, the central county of England. They were all worthy, industrious mechanics and sincere Protestants. They had a Bible concealed in a stool with a lid over it, and if any one came whilst they were reading it, the lid was shut down and the good book concealed from the Catholics.

It is a little remarkable that the ancestral family of George Washington should have lived also for centuries in the same county and same neighborhood with that of Benjamin Franklin, before their removal to America. The Franklins were all adherents of Oliver Cromwell,

whilst the Washingtons took sides with King Charles the first. In settling in America the two families showed their political and religious biases. Washington's great-grandfather being a Cavalier, sought refuge from the persecution of Cromwell in the Colony of Virginia, where the Church of England was the established religion, and where the great Protector's authority was never recognized. In consequence of this, Virginia was dubbed "The Old Dominion," a title which she proudly boasts at the present day. The father of Franklin being a Puritan and "Round Head," sought religious freedom in Boston, Massachusetts, a town then about the size of Greenville, containing six thousand inhabitants.

The accomplished biographer of Benjamin Franklin says: "The ancestors of the two men who were most influential upon the early fortunes of the United States, lived for several generations in the same county, Northamptonshire, the central county of England. But though the two families lived within a few miles of each other, they were separated by a social interval that was impassable. Washington, as Mr. Irving with such fond minuteness relates, was of gentle lineage. Knights, abbots, lords of the manor valiant, defenders of cities and partakers of the spoils of conquest, have the name of Washington, whose deeds and honors are recorded in ancient parchment, upon memorial brass and monumental stone. Franklin, on the contrary, came of a long line of village blacksmiths. A Franklin may have tightened a rivet in the armor or replaced a shoe upon the horse of a Washington, or doffed his cap to a Washington riding past the ancestral forge; but until Postmaster Franklin met Colonel Washington in the camp of General Braddock, in 1755, the two races had run their several ways without communion." What an expressive commentary is this upon monarchical and republican institutions.

The grandfather of Dr. Franklin, whose name was Thomas Franklin, seems to have elevated his family

somewhat by the kindness and patronage of Squire Palmer, who lent them books, and no doubt fostered the talent which had lain dormant in the family for many years. His son Thomas, uncle of Dr. Franklin, learned the blacksmith's trade in his father's shop, but aided by Squire Palmer, he became a conveyancer, "something of a lawyer, clerk of the county court, and clerk to the Archdeacon, a very leading man in county affairs, and much employed in public business." John, Benjamin and Josiah, the other sons of Thomas the elder, became dyers and abandoned the anvil and hammer. Josiah was the father of Dr. Franklin, and was born in 1655. He married in Banburg, where he had learned the trade of dyer. In 1685, Josiah Franklin bade farewell to England and came with his wife and three children to America. Finding no employment as a dyer, he set up in business as a tallow chandler and soap boiler. It is said that a moderate prosperity rewarded his diligence and skill in Boston. His English wife died after giving birth to seven children, leaving him a widower of thirty-five, with six living children. He was good looking, intelligent, and thrifty, and made haste before the year was out to marry Abiah Folger, then twenty-two years old. She became the mother of Dr. Benjamin Franklin and nine other children. Her father "Peter Folger was," says Mr. Parton, "worthy of being called the grandfather of Dr. Franklin." A cotemporary describes him as "a learned and godly Englishman." He wrote poetry, and was opposed to the shameful iniquity of persecuting Baptists and Quakers for opinion's sake. His grandson Benjamin used to quote his poetry on this subject and boast of his liberal principles. We do not get much information from any source relative to Franklin's mother, but there is no doubt she was a woman of remarkable natural abilities and strong character. She could not otherwise have given birth to such a son. History records no instance of a great man being born of an ordinary mother.

There is an amusing story told of Franklin's returning to his mother after an absence of many years, to test the natural love or *storgee* of the Greeks for one's offspring. He did not make himself known to his mother and she treated him with great coldness, expressing an opinion that he was a suspicious character, and that she did not like his looks. This satisfied Franklin that there was no instinctive love of offspring. The *storgee* of the Greeks was a poetical fiction. This story is universally believed, but his biographer says there is not a word of truth in it.

There is another coincidence between Washington and Franklin worthy of notice. Their ancestors not only lived in the same neighborhood in England for centuries, and emigrated to America about the same time, but they, Franklin and Washington, were both sons of a second marriage of elderly fathers to young mothers. Both sons lost the counsel and advice of their fathers in early youth. In Washington's case his father died when he was only ten or twelve years old. Franklin ran away from his father whilst he was in his teens and came to Philadelphia to seek his fortune. Neither father nor mother exercised any influence over him. But it is said that Washington's mother after the death of his father, held a tight rein over him, and used to chastise him when he was fifteen or sixteen years old. In those days parents did not, in the language of scripture, "spare the rod and spoil the child."

Benjamin Franklin was born January 6th, 1706, and was the eighth child of his mother and the fifteenth of his father. He had two sisters born after him. One of them, Jane, was the pet and beauty of the family. She was his favorite sister and affectionate correspondent for sixty years. In one of his letters to her whilst in Philadelphia, after an absence of many years, he writes her that he had understood she had grown to be a great beauty and was quite a belle in Boston. He had been thinking of a suitable present to make and was somewhat

embarrassed to decide what it should be. Finally he had concluded to send her a spinning-wheel and a pair of cards. He said they might be useful although they were not ornamental. What would a modern belle think of receiving such a present from a brother at the present time. But in those days there were no spinning-jennies and cotton factories. Homespun was worn as an every-day dress by even beauties and belles. Times have changed. But Franklin may have written the letter to his sister as a joke, and probably did. He was, however, through life, a great utilitarian, and scorned all extravagance and ostentation. Great men always do.

The education of Franklin was very limited, and he was taken from school at ten years, to assist his father in making candles and boiling soap. At one time his father intended to educate him for the ministry. He had shown a remarkable aptitude for learning when a very small boy, and always stood at the head of his class. It is doubtful if his father's wishes had been carried out, whether he would have been as distinguished in the Church as he was in philosophy and diplomacy. His mind does not seem ever to have had a very religious turn.

The trade of a tallow chandler and soap boiler did not suit Benjamin, and his father took him around to see the other trades in Boston. At length it was determined to bind him as an apprentice to his brother, who was a printer and editor of a newspaper. This suited his genius much better and gave him an opportunity of reading. He proposed to his brother to allow him one-half of what he was paying for his board and he would board himself. This arrangement was made, and instead of going to dinner Benjamin would get himself a slice of bread, a cup of water and a handful of raisins. He would stay in the office and read whilst the others were gone for their dinners. About this time he came to the conclusion that it was a sin to make flesh a part of our food. He did not think it right for one animal

to eat another. Both were equally entitled to life, as the gift of nature and God. But on seeing a large fish opened, which had been feasting on the small fry, he concluded that if one fish was permitted to eat another, it was not against nature's laws for him to eat another animal. From that time he always ate as other people did. He was also at this time a great temperance man and eschewed not only spirituous liquors, but beer, ale, wine, etc. He proved to the London printers that he was much stronger than they were, although they used stimulants and he did not. In after life, however, he abandoned his notions about drinking as he had done in youth about not eating flesh.

The reading of Franklin whilst an apprentice was very extensive, and he also tried his hand at poetry. His father put a stop to his writing doggerel rhyme, and "thereby," said he, "I escaped being a poet." He and his brother had some difference and his brother beat him. He said this early subjection to tyranny made him quick in after life to resist arbitrary power. His indentures had been cancelled and he quit his brother. But not being able to get employment in Boston as a printer, he went to Philadelphia. Of his first entrance into the city of Brotherly Love he gives an amusing and ludicrous account in his autobiography. He was very hungry and bought three loaves of bread. His pockets being filled with shirts and stockings, he put a loaf under each arm and commenced eating the third as he passed up Market street. Miss Read, his future wife, saw him as he passed her father's house and noticed his uncouth and eccentric appearance. He gave his bread to a poor woman, and walked into a Quaker meeting-house where he fell into a sound sleep.

Franklin soon obtained work and engaged board at Mr. Read's, his future father-in-law. The Governor of the Province, Sir William Keith, read some of his letters, called to see him and invited him to his house. His Excellency was so much pleased with his talents and

attainments that he proposed setting him up in business for himself. Relying on the Governor's promises he started to England to purchase all the material for printing and publishing a newspaper. He was then eighteen years old, and had engaged himself to marry Miss Read. On arriving in London he found the Governor had furnished no funds to purchase type, press, etc., and was not able to do so. He got employment, however, as a journeyman printer, fell into bad habits, neglected writing to Miss Read, and she, supposing herself abandoned by Franklin, was induced to marry another man. In a short time she separated from her husband, having heard he had another wife living. He went off to the West Indies and was never heard of afterwards.

Franklin remained in London eighteen months, and returned to Philadelphia. Miss Read was sad and broken-hearted, and he determined to make amends for his past mistreatment of her, and they were married the first of September, 1730. She made him an excellent wife, and they lived together most happily till her death, which occurred many years afterwards, whilst he was in London, and after he had acquired fortune and fame as one of the first philosophers of the age, and benefactors of mankind. They had but one child who lived to be grown. She married Mr. Bache and has numerous descendants now living in Philadelphia. His son, who was Governor of New Jersey, was illegitimate, and no one ever knew who his mother was, says his biographer. Franklin had brought him up and gave him a finished education. He, too, had an illegitimate son, William Temple Franklin, an accomplished young gentleman, who was his grandfather's private secretary, and remained steadfast to him and the independence of his country, when his father, the Governor of New Jersey, took sides with the British government and made himself very odious to the people and Congress. The name of Franklin is now extinct. The Governor was for many years a pensioner on the English government, and died

without issue, except his illegitimate son, who also died without leaving children.

There is no one who ever left the impress of his character on a city more marked than Franklin did his on the city of Philadelphia. He effected improvements in the city watch and established a fire company. He was the founder of the University of Pennsylvania, and of the American Philosophical Society. He invented the economical stove which bears his name. He got up a subscription and established a public library in the city. In fact he was the originator of all Philadelphia's early improvements.

In 1750 Franklin was elected a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, and appointed a commissioner for making an Indian treaty. In 1753 he was appointed deputy Postmaster-General for America. He was appointed a delegate in 1756 to the general Congress at Albany. In that Congress he proposed a plan of union for the Colonies which was adopted, but afterwards rejected by both England and the Colonies. As Postmaster-General it became his duty to assist in the march of Braddock's army against the Indians. He met General Braddock in Maryland and advised him against his expedition which proved so disastrous. After the defeat of Braddock he organized the militia for the defence of the Colony, and was appointed general of the army. This position he declined.

He now pursued his experiments in electricity and made himself famous as a philosopher. Honors and medals, degrees and memberships of learned societies, were conferred on him. He was appointed agent for the Colonies of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland and Georgia, to represent their interests in England. He arrived in London July 27, 1757, and honors and compliments awaited him. Oxford and Edinburgh conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. The great and learned men of England sought his acquaintance. After remaining in England five years, and

adjusting all the business of the Colonies, he returned home in 1762 and received their vote of thanks. But new troubles broke out between the Mother Country and her Colonies, and he was sent back again in 1764. The project of taxing the Colonies had been announced and he was indefatigable in showing its unconstitutionality. He was examined before the House of Commons on the subject of repealing the Stamp Act, and acquired great fame by his answers and explanations. It was said that his examination was like that of a parcel of school boys examining their teacher and master. He said loyalty had been the pride of the Americans. Thinking to catch him in squinting at treason, they enquired what then was the pride of the Americans now? His reply was to wear their old clothes until they could make new ones.

Nine years before the declaration of American Independence, Franklin saw that it would come and ought to come. He said whilst in England to his friends returning to America, "go home and get children. They will be needed for the defence of their country and her liberties." He hated tyranny and oppression in every form, and was always prompt and fearless in resisting them. "*Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God*," was his motto. Great efforts were made whilst he was in England to win him over to the government. They heaped honors and rewards on him, made his son Governor of New Jersey, appointed him Postmaster-General of America, and still he remained firm and true to his country. They complained of his ingratitude. He told them that he knew it was a maxim of their former prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole, that every man had his price. But, said he, "what would satisfy a mouse an elephant could not feel." Leaving them to infer that they had not yet given him enough. But they had sagacity to perceive that *enough* could never be given him.

Franklin returned from England in May, 1775, and took his seat in the Continental Congress to which he

had been elected in his absence. He was again appointed a member of the Congress which declared American Independence, and signed the same. He had long previously urged this Declaration of Independence. He was then sent as Commissioner to Paris, afterwards plenipotentiary and commissioner for negotiating peace. He signed the treaty by which Great Britain acknowledged the Independence of the United States. No one ever created a greater commotion in the social circles of Paris than Dr. Franklin. He did not return to Philadelphia till 1785. He was then elected President of Pennsylvania, and afterwards a member of the convention which framed the Federal Constitution. He died April 17, 1790, and twenty thousand persons attended his funeral.

In 1846 I visited Philadelphia for the first time, and whilst there I hunted up the house in which Franklin lived. It had been converted into a grocery, but seemed to be in good repair. I then went to his grave in the church yard. There was a broad marble slab covering his and his wife's grave. Their names were cut on the slab. I thought how humble this monument to greatness was. But it was in character with the simplicity of Franklin. He wanted no monument to perpetuate his fame. The Latin line by a French statesman embodies it all, and is beautifully expressed—" *Eripuit caelo fulmen, sep-tremque tyrannis.*"

In his youth and early manhood Franklin was stout and athletic, with a handsome face, as represented in his likenesses. He was five feet ten inches high. His complexion was light and his eyes grey. In manners he was simple, affable and charming. He charmed all Paris with his manners and conversation. Whilst a journeyman printer in London, an old woman reduced his board two or three shillings on account of the pleasure she derived from his conversation. In the character of Washington there was grandeur and dignity. In the character of Franklin all was simplicity and affability. Washington inspired awe and admiration; and Franklin

love and respect. Washington would receive no compensation for all his public services, and presents made him by the State of Virginia, he gave as endowment to a college at Lexington, named after him. Franklin received compensation for his public services, and gave it as a fund to be loaned out to poor mechanics in Boston and Philadelphia.

There was a great fund of good humor in this old patriot and philosopher. He had a happy knack of illustrating his views by a story or anecdote, which was always *apropos*. Mr. Jefferson tells the following incident of Franklin when the Declaration of Independence was under discussion in the Continental Congress. Mr. Jefferson, as chairman of the committee appointed to draw the Declaration of Independence, had submitted his draft to the committee, which was adopted by them and reported to the Congress. In the discussion of this declaration various amendments, alterations, and erasures were proposed. Jefferson was sitting near Franklin, and the old philosopher saw that he was in great torture. By way of consoling him Franklin told him the following story: John Smith, a hatter in Philadelphia, had a beautiful sign-board painted in the following words: "John Smith, hatter, makes and sells hats for cash." He showed his sign to a friend, who suggested that the word "hatter" was superfluous, as he stated that he made hats, consequently the word "hatter" was erased from the sign, which then stood—"John Smith makes and sells hats for cash." Another friend suggested that it was a matter of no consequence to the purchaser of a hat whether it was made by John Smith or any one else, consequently the word "makes" was stricken out, and the sign was, "John Smith sells hats for cash." A third friend suggested that no one expected to buy a hat on a credit, and therefore the words "for cash" were erased. The sign then read, "John Smith sells hats." Another friend, looking at the sign, said no one expects you to give him a hat, and

therefore the word "sells" was stricken out. After all these suggestions had been adopted the sign-board was simply, "John Smith, hats." Nothing was said about making or selling.

After Braddock's defeat the Indians were committing great depredations on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, and Franklin, like a true patriot, as he was, organized a militia force to defend the Province. He had the honor of being appointed a general to command the forces thus raised. One day whilst in service, the chaplain came to him and complained that he could not get the soldiers to attend morning prayers, and wished Franklin to have them punished for neglect of duty. He very coolly heard the chaplain state his grievance and propose his remedy, and said he did not like to punish his soldiers if they could be induced otherwise to perform their duty. He then requested the chaplain to give notice that the rations of rum would be dealt out to the soldiers the next morning immediately after prayers. In the evening the chaplain told Franklin that his suggestion had been adopted, and that it had worked like a charm. There was not a man missing that morning at prayers. All were attentive and devout.

Franklin did not like to see anything commenced and not completed, nor did he like to see a work half done through laziness. In order to illustrate his notion on this subject he told the story about "the speckled axe." A lazy fellow once asked the blacksmith if he could not make the whole axe bright like the edge? "Oh, yes," said the smith, "if you will turn the grindstone I will make the sides as bright as the edge." The fellow commenced turning, and the blacksmith put the side of the axe on the grindstone and bore down very hard on it. After a while the lazy fellow got tired of turning the grindstone and proposed to stop. The blacksmith told him that the axe was now *speckled* and not bright. The fellow replied that he believed he liked a speckled axe better than a bright one. Franklin said it was so with the world, a majority of mankind liked "speckled axes."

Whilst Franklin was agent for the colonies and resisting the right of Great Britain to tax them without representation, the government replied that the colonies were all settled by English subjects, and of course the mother country had a right to make them pay taxes. In order to show the absurdity of this alleged right, Franklin caused to be published one morning in the London papers a proclamation which he had drawn for the King of Prussia. This paper set forth that England had been settled by the Saxons, and as Prussia was the mother country, she had a right to tax the people of England. This fictitious proclamation was drawn with all the formality possible. It stated that neither King Frederick nor his ancestors had heretofore exercised this right; but that Prussia had lately expended large sums in defending Great Britain against France, and she ought to defray as a colony of Prussia the expenses of the war.

Franklin says he was sitting with a parcel of gentlemen the morning this proclamation made its appearance, and a member of the club who was always anxious to be the first to tell the news, came running into the room and said: "Most extraordinary news this morning. Prussia has issued a proclamation levying a tax on England." All seemed astounded, and asked for it to be read. Franklin appeared to be as much astonished as the rest of them. But before the proclamation was read through, one of the gentlemen looked at Franklin and said: "This is some of your American humor."

When Franklin had formed a treaty of alliance between the United States and France, he had to present himself at the French Court as the American Minister. The court costume required a wig well powdered. He engaged one to be made, which was brought home the evening of his presentation. The wig maker tried to fit it on his head but could not. At last Franklin suggested that it was too small. "No, sir," said the man, "the wig is not too small, but your head is too large."

He finally gave up the wig and the court dress, and presented himself in a plain suit of black, which was greatly admired for its republican simplicity. He became the lion of the city of Paris, and was visited and admired by all the nobility and literati of France. When he and Voltaire met at some public gathering they were made to kiss and embrace each other amidst the applause of the multitude.

The ladies, too, paid Franklin as much homage as the men. His fame as a philosopher and his republican simplicity made them all court him. Amongst these ladies there was an old duchess of large fortune, the widow of Helvetius, the philosopher, who seems to have fallen in love with him in his seventy-sixth year. Franklin humored her with the following dream: He said he found himself in the other world, and in company with the philosopher Helvetius. Franklin told him that he had seen a few days since his widow in Paris. Helvetius replied that he had now taken to himself another wife, whom he would introduce to him. What was his surprise and amazement when he found this other wife of Helvetius to be no one else than his own wife, who had died ten or fifteen years since. He immediately claimed her as belonging to him. But she replied that she had lived with him forty or fifty years, had died, and was now married to Helvetius whom she loved very much, and could not separate from him. On awakening from his dream Franklin suggested that it would be right and proper for him to take Helvetius's widow to wife whilst they continued to live in this world.

Mrs. John Adams met this old duchess, and was astonished at the lady's free ways. She says, "she entered the room with a careless, jaunty air; upon seeing ladies who were strangers to her, she bawled out: 'Ab, mon dieu, where is Franklin? Why did you not tell me there were ladies here? How do I look,' said she, taking hold of a chemise made of tiffany, which she

had over a blue lute string, and which looked as much upon the decay as her beauty, for she was once a handsome woman; her hair was frizzed; over it she had a small straw hat, with a dirty gauze half handkerchief round it, and a bit of dirtier gauze than ever my maids wore was bowed on behind. She had a black gauze scarf thrown over her shoulders. She ran out of the room; when she returned the Doctor entered at one door, she at the other, upon which she ran forward to him, caught him by the hand, 'Hold, Franklin,' then gave him a double kiss, one upon each cheek, and another upon his forehead. When we went into the room to dine she was placed between the Doctor and Mr. Adams. She carried on the chief conversation at dinner, frequently laying her hands on the Doctor, and sometimes spreading her arms upon the backs of both the gentlemen's chairs, then throwing her arm carelessly upon the Doctor's neck."

Mrs. Adams's New England notions of propriety were greatly shocked, although Dr. Franklin had told her that this lady was a genuine French woman, and one of the best women in the world. She says but for this she would have taken her for one of the worst. "After dinner she threw herself upon a settee, where she showed more than her feet." I forbear to make further extracts from Mrs. Adams's description of Madame Helvétius, and I think she herself transcended New England decency in giving it even in a letter to a lady.

Franklin was a great economist of time as well as of money. This feeling seemed to have been with him when a boy. His father was a New England Puritan, and said long graces at the table three times a day. When he was salting away his meat, Franklin suggested to his father that he might save a good deal of time if he would say grace over the whole of it at once.

Whilst Franklin was clerk of the Pennsylvania Legislature, a very promising and talented young member whom Franklin did not know, made a speech

against his re-election. This alarmed the young printer and philosopher in embryo, and he thought he would conciliate him. But instead of doing so by showing a favor to the young member, he sought a favor of him. Franklin "knew human nature as well as if he had made it," as my friend Colonel Irby once said to me in regard to himself. He knew that a man who does a favor is apt to remember it longer than the one who receives the favor. In other words, we are more apt to love those to whom we have been kind, than those who have been kind to us. Franklin therefore wrote him a polite note, requesting to borrow a rare book which he understood the young member had in his library. The book was lent, read, and returned with many thanks. This induced the member to speak to Franklin when they met, and they became intimate and strong friends through life. How much better was all this than for Franklin to have resented the young member's opposition to him and been enemies through life?

The Americans in Paris, who were associated with Franklin as commissioners, ministers, etc., were jealous of his overshadowing reputation, and some of them were offended with him because he would not advance money for their salaries, which Franklin thought he had no right to do. It is evident to one who reads John Adams's diary in Paris that he did not like to see the old philosopher placed so much above himself. Izard, Pringle, and Bee of South Carolina were his open enemies. This induced Mrs. Bache, Franklin's daughter, to say one day that she hated all South Carolinians from B to Izard.

The labors of Franklin as American Commissioner and Ambassador at the French Court were herculean and invaluable towards securing the independence of the United States, and providing money for the prosecution of the war. They may be said to have been almost as important as Washington's services in the army. He borrowed and procured for Congress millions of dollars,

and his reputation and influence had much to do in forming an alliance with France and securing her acknowledgment of the independence of the colonies.

Notwithstanding Franklin's sceptical notions on religion, he was always a great favorite with the most distinguished clergymen of England and America. He and Whitfield were great friends; and when Whitfield was getting up a subscription to found some charitable institution in Georgia, Franklin tried to persuade him that the institution should be located in Philadelphia. This proposition Whitfield refused, and Franklin determined not to give anything. But he went to hear Whitfield's sermon on the subject, and, after listening awhile, he thought when the hat was brought around he would throw in some coppers he had in his pocket. He listened awhile longer, and said to himself that he would give his silver change also. But before Whitfield had concluded, he determined to throw in his gold and empty his pockets.

Some one asked Franklin one day what was the difference between orthodoxy and heterodoxy? He replied, "orthodoxy is my doxy and heterodoxy is your doxy." A gentleman in Philadelphia submitted to Franklin a manuscript book against the Christian religion. Franklin advised him to burn it, and said that the people were bad enough with religion, and would be a great deal worse without it. He said he attended church at one time very regularly, and heard so much dogmatism, so much about faith and election and creeds, and so little about the practical duties of life, virtue, morality, charity, and doing good to our fellow-creatures, that he ceased to attend church altogether, but paid all denominations. Whilst in England he wrote his daughter that she must be constant in her attendance at church, and advised her to go to the Episcopal Church, for whose service he had great admiration. He formed for his own worship a service very similar to that of the Episcopal Church, and this service he repeated to himself

very often in private. He likewise kept a table or memorandum, in which he inserted every day the faults or sins committed by him. He had it ruled off under different heads, and would make a dot for every offence under that head. If everybody were to pursue this course some would have a great many dots in the course of a year.

In order to illustrate the wickedness of this world, he writes a story of a young angel being sent to the earth on some important business, with an old courier spirit as a guide. They happened to light where the fleets of Rodney and De Grasse were fighting. The angel said to the courier spirit, "You blundering block-head, instead of conducting me to the earth, you have brought me into hell." "No, sir," said the guide, "this is the earth, and those are men; devils never treat one another so cruelly; they have more humanity!"

One day some one was lecturing Franklin on the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press. Franklin said they were very good things, but the freedom of the cudgel ought to go with them.

Whilst a very young man, editing a paper in Philadelphia, he wrote and published a fictitious speech of Dolly Baker, indicted for bastardy in one of the New England States, which was brought up in judgment against him in after life. The speech is published in "Parton's Life of Franklin," and is nothing more than what a humorous young editor might have said for the amusement of his readers. The punishment of having a bastard child was being tied to the end of a cart and whipped through the streets. Dolly defends herself very well. She says that whilst she is brought into court to be ignominiously punished, her partner in the crime has been honored with a seat on the Bench. She does not think this just and equitable. If she had stopped here, all would have applauded the speech. But she goes on to say that she was only obeying the law of nature and the command of Scripture to multiply and

replenish the earth. She was willing to have married her seducer, but he was not, and no one else had ever sought her hand in marriage. She therefore thought she was excusable in obeying the law of nature and the command of Scripture.

When the Declaration of Independence was about being signed, John Hancock, the President of Congress, said: "We must be unanimous and all hang together." "Yes," said Franklin, "we must indeed hang together, or we shall all hang separately." The strongest evidence Franklin could give of his patriotism was shown, when he set out for France, shortly after the Declaration of Independence. He collected all of his money, amounting to fifteen thousand dollars, and invested it in Government funds. He was never penurious, although a great economist. He took pleasure in doing good with his money, instead of foolishly spending it in extravagance or luxury. He never would take out a patent for any of his useful inventions. His stove and his lightning rod would have realized him a princely fortune.

Whilst in England before the war he got possession of Governor Hutchinson's infamous letter urging troops to be sent to Boston. These letters he enclosed to a friend in the Legislature of Massachusetts. They produced a terrible hub-bub both in Old and New England. A gentleman charged another with having stolen them, and a duel ensued. It was about to be repeated, when Franklin came forward and avowed that he himself had sent the letters. This brought him before the Privy Council of England, and his commission of Postmaster-General of America was taken from him. Wedderburn, the Attorney-General, abused him most shamefully; called him a man of three letters—*per*—a thief. Franklin was at that time dressed in a black velvet coat. When he was going to sign his name to the treaty between Great Britain, France, and the United States, he retired to his dressing-room and put on that same old

black coat, and then sat down and signed his name as American Minister to the treaty which acknowledged the independence of his country by Great Britain.

Whilst in London he uncorked a bottle of wine which had been sent him from America. Several of his friends were present, and in the bottle were three flies. He took them out and put them in the sun. Two of the flies came to life and flew off, the third did not revive. This made Franklin express the wish that he could be put in a pipe of wine, kept a hundred years, and then brought to life again, so that he might see what improvements had been made in his country during that time. What a glorious treat it would be to the old patriot to revisit America now, after the lapse of almost a century since his death. How amazed he would be to see the telegraph in operation, the steamboats running, the telephone operating, the great telescope of Herschel bringing to view new planets, the wonderful improvements in printing, the increase of our population from three millions to forty millions, the extension of the Republic from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the towns and cities which have sprung up with their hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, where all was a vast wilderness when his spirit left this earth. How pleased, too, would the old philosopher be to see the descendants of his only child now numbering one hundred and fifty. This wonderful increase of his own progeny would forcibly remind him of his witticism to Lord Howe when his lordship said: "America can confer upon Great Britain more solid advantages than money—it is her commerce, her strength, her *men* that we chiefly want." "By my Lord," said Franklin, "we have in America a considerable *manufactory of men*." He would certainly think the Americans had followed his advice when he said to some friends returning to America before the Revolutionary war, "Go home and tell the people to get children as fast as they can, so that we may be strong enough to resist the tyranny and oppression of Great Britain."

WILLIAM PINKNEY.

This eminent statesman and diplomatist was, perhaps, the most accomplished orator and lawyer that America has ever produced. In a sketch of him in the National Portrait Gallery, the writer says: "Mr. Pinkney's mind was of the highest cast of intellectual power, solid as well as brilliant; combining the fruits of laborious industry, with extraordinary natural talents. Endowed with something of the enlarged philosophy, the exuberant metaphor, and the gorgeous rhetoric of Burke, the chaste and proud sentiments of Canning, the lofty and impassioned declamation of the younger Pitt, the brilliant illustration of Sheridan, the ardent enthusiasm of Fox, and the rapid elegance of Erskine, the eloquence of Mr. Pinkney was founded upon his own model, and abounded probably with more advantages than that of any of the orators we have mentioned."

I remember when I was a boy at school, at Asheville, hearing Governor Swain read a speech of John Randolph, announcing the death of William Pinkney, a senator from Maryland, in the House of Representatives of the United States. His eulogy was most glowing and unmeasured in extolling his learning, his eloquence, his statesmanship and high character. If I mistake not, he pronounced him the greatest of all American orators, and the most learned and accomplished of her lawyers.

Mr. Pinkney had spent ten or fifteen years in England as commissioner and plenipotentiary at the court of St. James, and during all that time he was most laboriously engaged in perfecting himself in his profession as a lawyer and orator. He was a constant attendant on all the great debates in the British Parlia-

ment, and observed closely the characteristics of all the distinguished speakers in both Houses. His education had been defective in early life, but he made himself, whilst in England, an accomplished scholar, learned in Latin and the modern languages.

The father of William Pinkney was an Englishman, settled in Maryland some years before the Revolutionary war, and adhered to the Royal Government in that struggle. His property was all confiscated, and he was left very poor, with a large family to support. Consequently he could not give his sons a collegiate education. But, like Franklin and thousands of others of the greatest men of the world, William Pinkney educated himself. His family was an old one in England, and came over with William the Conqueror from Normandy. The South Carolina Pinckneys, although they spell their name differently, are a branch of the same family. This was ascertained by General Pinckney whilst American minister at the court of St. James, and whilst Mr. William Pinkney was at the same time in London as American commissioner under Jay's Treaty. They both recognized their relationship.

William Pinkney was born at Annapolis, Maryland, March 17th, 1764, and entered King William School, in his native town, where he remained till he was thirteen years old. This was in the midst of the Revolutionary war, and young Pinkney's feelings were all on the side of his country, and differing with those of his father. His mother is said to have been a lady of very superior intellectual endowments. She died early, but her virtues, her training of her children, and her memory were cherished by her accomplished son through life with the tenderest affection. He likewise loved most ardently the place of his birth, and thought there was no place on earth equal to Annapolis. This was the feeling he frequently expressed in his letters whilst amid all the splendor, fashion, and gaiety of England. He seems to have had the organ of locality strongly

developed in his nature, as well as a warm and affectionate heart.

It is remarkable that William Pinkney, with all of his great talents, learning, eloquence, and statesmanship, should have been an exquisite, priding himself on the scrupulous neatness and fit of his dress. A great mind is the rarest thing in the world to be associated with a fop, who is generally a trifling being, with neither learning nor talents. William H. Crawford, of Georgia, one of the greatest men of America, used to say that in all of his intercourse with the distinguished men of Europe and the United States, he had never known but three who were dandies or prided themselves on their dress. I have no doubt Mr. Pinkney was one of the three, and who the other two were I cannot imagine. Charles J. Fox did, at one period of his life, affect to be scrupulously neat in his dress.

My old and revered friend, Judge Gantt, was a native of Maryland, and read law in William Pinkney's office. He told me a great deal about Pinkney, his appearance, dress, conversation, etc. The Judge said Pinkney was about his size, height, and make, and it was said they resembled each other very much. I should suppose from all the likenesses that I have seen of Mr. Pinkney that there was a resemblance between Judge Gantt and himself. Their persons stout and well built, their faces full and broad, and their features and expression of countenance were alike. In voice, too, they may have resembled each other. Pinkney's voice was sweet and melodious in an eminent degree. Judge Gantt had a very fine voice and was eloquent at the Bar.

We know very little of Mr. Pinkney's history till he commenced reading law with Judge Chase. He first commenced the study of medicine, but soon found that it was not congenial with his talents or nature. After his admission to the Bar, in 1786, he established himself in Harford county, and was elected a member of the

State Convention in 1788, called for the purpose of ratifying the Federal Constitution. "His first efforts at the Bar," says Wheaton, his biographer, "seem to have given him a commanding attitude in the eyes of the public. His style of speaking was very melodious, and seemed a most winning accompaniment to his pure and effective diction. His elocution was calm and placid—the very contrast of that strenuous, vehement, and emphatic manner which he subsequently adopted."

He was chosen a member of the House of Delegates of Maryland, in 1788, and continued to represent the county of Harford in that body till 1792. He married a sister of Commodore Rodgers in 1789, and the next year was elected a member of Congress, but declined on account of professional duties. In 1792 he was a member of the executive council of Maryland. In 1796 he was appointed by Washington one of the commissioners on the part of the United States under Jay's Treaty, and remained in London discharging the duties of that position till 1804. In 1805 he was appointed attorney-general of the State of Maryland. In 1806 he was appointed minister to England, and remained there in that capacity till 1811. On his return home he was elected a member of the State Senate, and appointed by Madison attorney-general of the United States. This office he resigned in 1813, when Congress passed an act requiring the attorney-general to reside in Washington. He had moved to Baltimore, and had a practice which he could not give up. When Maryland was invaded by the British army, he formed a volunteer company, and fought gallantly at Bladensburgh, where he was severely wounded. In 1816 he was appointed by President Monroe minister plenipotentiary to Naples and Russia. In 1818 he returned home, and was elected to the United States Senate in 1820. There he made his immortal speech on the Missouri Compromise, the greatest speech ever delivered in the United States Senate.

Governor Burton, of North Carolina, gave me an account of this speech forty years since. He said he was at that time a member of the House of Representatives in Congress. There was great anxiety to hear Pinkney, and the Senate chamber and galleries were crowded to excess. Governor Burton sat down on the carpet, the only seat he could get. He said the first part of Pinkney's speech was entirely rhetorical and fanciful, and he thought to himself what a fool he was to be sitting in the middle of the Senate chamber on the carpet listening to such a speech. But soon afterwards Pinkney entered into the argument of the case, and he was thrilled and overwhelmed by his logic and eloquence. This great and wonderful speech is published in full in Pinkney's Life, by his nephew, the Rev. William Pinkney, D.D.

In one of his letters to his brother, written whilst he was commissioner in London, he tells of his disappointment in listening to Fox, Erskine, Grey, and Dundas. William Pitt was the only orator who came up to his expectations. John Quincy Adams was once asked by General Waddy Thompson who was the greatest orator he ever heard, and he replied, "William Pitt, immeasurably!" Pinkney says in this letter: "I have heard Mr. Fox on the most interesting and weighty subjects, without discovering that he is an orator. I have heard Mr. Grey on the same occasions, without thinking him above mediocrity. Mr. Pitt, indeed, has not disappointed me. He is truly a wonderful man. I never heard so clear and masterly a reasoner, or a more effectual disclaimer. I could sit forever to listen to Mr. Pitt. In argument he is beyond example, correct and perspicuous, and in declamation energetic and commanding. His style might serve as a model of classical elegance. I have heard Mr. Erskine once, and thought nothing of him. But at the Bar he is said to be formidable and eloquent. Mr. Secretary Dundas is *mediocre*."

Mr. Pinkney had contracted in early life the habit of chewing tobacco, and found it almost impossible to break himself of it. In the higher classes of society in England, the use of tobacco in any way was considered intolerably vulgar and disgusting. It was disgraceful for it to be known that a gentleman chewed tobacco. He says when he did so, he took the precaution not only of retiring to a private room, but of locking the door, in order to keep it a secret from the servants. Finally he gave up chewing and commenced smoking, but still he had to do this in secret, or lose caste in genteel society. I heard a young gentleman say forty or fifty years ago that he was smoking a cigar as he walked along in London, and that he attracted as much attention as if he had been an elephant. Everybody stared at him and some even stopped to look at him.

In writing from Russia Mr. Pinkney gives a sketch of the Emperor Alexander, his mother and his wife, which is really a gem. His description of the reigning Empress is beautiful: "She combines every charm that contributes to female loveliness with all the qualities that peculiarly become her exalted station. Her figure although thin, is exquisitely fine. Her countenance is a subduing picture of feeling and intelligence. Her voice is of that soft and happy tone that goes directly to the heart, and awakens every sentiment which a virtuous woman can be ambitious to excite. Her manner cannot be described or imagined. It is so graceful, so unaffectedly gentle, so winning and yet so dignified, that (I had almost said) an angel might copy it and improve his own. Her conversation is suited to this noble exterior," etc., etc.

I have said that William Pinkney was perhaps the most accomplished orator and lawyer that America had ever produced. In support of this opinion I will quote the judgment of others. Judge Story says: "His genius and eloquence were so lofty, I might almost say unrivalled, his learning so extensive, his ambition so

elevated, his political and constitutional principles so truly just and pure, his weight in public councils so decisive, his character at the bar so peerless and commanding, that there seems now left a dismal and perplexing vacancy. Never do I expect to hear a man like Pinkney again. He was a man who scarcely appears once a century."

John Randolph, who was not accustomed to eulogise any one, but always took more pleasure in criticising and finding fault, says of Pinkney: "I will not say that our loss is irreparable, because such a man as has existed may exist again. There has been a Homer, there has been a Shakespeare, there has been a Milton, there has been a Newton. There may be another Pinkney, but there is none now."

Chief Justice Marshall was equally eulogistic of the eloquence, learning and ability of Pinkney. He had indeed every requisite of an orator. His person was noble, his manner commanding, his voice sweet and melodious, his learning profound and extensive, his imagination brilliant and dazzling, his flow of language the most pure and correct, easy and graceful, his passions strong and powerful, and his heart filled with love and affection for his country, and the liberty and happiness of mankind. No bad man can be a great orator. He must feel himself the great truths he utters, or he cannot make others feel them. At the bar, in arguing the most abstruse questions of law, he is said to have thrown around them a magic charm which interested every one. Eloquence is said to be that power which moves and sways the multitude, and this Pinkney had in a pre-eminent degree, whilst at the same time his logic and reasoning were irresistible to the intellectual and cultured.

Mr. Pinkney was an accomplished gentleman, as well as an accomplished orator and lawyer. His manners were uniformly kind and courteous, and respectful in argument. On one occasion, however, he was disre-

spectful to Thomas Addis Emmet, the great Irish patriot and orator. In the course of his argument he alluded to Emmet's being a refugee and exile from his country. In reply the Irish orator, who was always happy in his repartee, and prompt in resisting a reflection, said: "May it please your Honors, I know not where the honorable gentleman learned his manners; but if in his late experience at Foreign Courts he obtained them there, I am sure he could have kept no company, and if he took them with him, it is a great pity he did not leave them there." This retort delivered with a slight brogue was very effectual and drew from Mr. Pinkney the *amende honorable* in most feeling and beautiful terms. He avowed his regret that he should have indulged in a seemingly unkind criticism upon his illustrious opponent, who was an honor to any age or country and for whose character and talents and learning he had the highest regard.

I have spoken of Mr. Pinkney as the most accomplished orator and lawyer that America has ever produced. But he was a great statesman as well as an accomplished orator and profound lawyer. His views in regard to the constitutional powers of our complex system of government and its policy, were just and correct. He was a stern advocate for the rights of the States and the union of the States. They were one and inseparable in his judgment. Whilst he denied the constitutional power of the Federal Government to oppress the States, he did not believe in the constitutional right of the States to break up the Union. His great speech on the Missouri question embodies fully his opinions in regard to our National State Governments. His letter to Mr. Madison, in 1806, from London, gives the views of a patriot and statesman in regard to our national honor and duty.

Mr. Pinkney was a profound scholar, though his early education had been neglected. Like Franklin, he educated himself thoroughly and profoundly. No one had

a more correct use of the English language. Whilst in London, as American Commissioner, he felt keenly, on some occasion, his want of a knowledge of the Latin language, and he determined to study it and learn it thoroughly, which he did.

As a diplomatist Mr. Pinkney was likewise distinguished at the Courts of England, Russia and Naples. In the language of Judge Story he was "one who, while abroad, honored his country by an unparalleled display of diplomatic science, and on his return, illuminated the halls of justice with an eloquence of argument and depth of learned research that have not been excelled in our day."

"His personal appearance," says his biographer, "possessed a goodly degree of dignity and grace. Tall and finely formed, with a head exquisitely shaped, forehead high, broad, massive and slightly retreating, eyes of the softest blue, rather heavy in repose, but capable of the intensest and most varied expression when roused in excitement of debate, a mouth of uncommon sweetness and flexibility, soft brown hair, scarcely tinged with gray when death laid him low, and characteristic neatness and elegance of dress—he was a man remarkable to look upon." It is said he was never talkative, but when disengaged by the press of business he was the light and life of society. On such occasions his wit sparkled and flashed, giving to the conversation an indescribable charm, not unlike intellectual fascination. He was a great admirer of the ladies. "He had without doubt," says his nephew, "formed his opinion of the mind and heart of woman from the noblest specimen; and knew by early experience that there was nothing too abstruse or sublime for the one to grasp, or too magnanimous, exalted or ennobling for the other to grasp." But he ridiculed in one of his speeches the idea of a lady's exercising the right of suffrage. He predicted at some future time this revolting idea would be advocated. It has been both in England and

America within the last few years. When it is adopted, the refinement and delicacy of woman, which are her most lovable characteristics, will be gone.

As a man, he was warm hearted, noble and generous, and a staunch friend to those whose adoption he had tried, but not over quick to make new ones. As a husband and father he was most tender, loving and affectionate. His letter to his brother on the training up and education of children deserves to be read by every parent.

Mr. Pinkney died February 25, 1822, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. What would he have been had he lived to the age of Lord Brougham, ninety-four? He sat up very late the night before he was taken ill, reading the "Pirates," then just published, and seemed a good deal excited by the story. From that time till his death he was mostly in a state of delirium. He left a wife and two children. The whole country was in mourning at his death in the midst of his fame and glory. He was then engaged in preparing a great speech to be delivered in the Senate of the United States, which it is said would greatly have increased his fame as a statesman.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

This illustrious statesman and patriot immortalized his name early in life by writing the "Declaration of American Independence." Had he never done anything more as a statesman in after-life, his name would have descended to the latest posterity as immortal. It was a much greater, bolder, and more patriotic act than that of *Magna Charta*, obtained by the proud barons of England at Runnymede from their pusillanimous King John. This only secured the liberty of a kingdom, whilst the other gave birth to a great republic, destined to be in the future, in territory, wealth, population, and intelligence, as well as in liberty, virtue, and religion, the most magnificent empire that the sun ever shone upon. No act of any people in ancient or modern history is comparable to it in its consequences and example to mankind. Well, then, may the name of its author be immortal and remembered in all time to come. It will ever be dear to all Americans and to every lover of liberty and free institutions throughout the world.

In the old Continental Congress, after they had solemnly resolved to declare the independence of the Colonies, and their final and everlasting separation from the mother country, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, and others were appointed a committee to draw up their Declaration of Independence. Jefferson submitted his draft to the committee, and, after slight alterations were agreed on and reported to Congress, it was adopted by Congress, signed by all the members, and published to the world on the 4th day of July, 1776.

This bold and defiant Declaration of Independence was received throughout the Colonies with patriotic rapture

and enthusiasm and ratified by each one of the United States almost unanimously. No one thought then of criticising its language or sentiments. This, however, has been severely done since by a great many of the most eminent American statesmen and literary men, and, it would seem, properly done. Some years since, as I was walking the streets of Philadelphia with that literary gentleman and leader of society in the city of "Brotherly Love," the Honorable J. Francis Fisher, he stopped me, pointing to a little house on the opposite side of the street, and said: "There is the house in which that grand lie was written, declaring that *all men were created equal*! It is false in every particular," said Mr. Fisher. "No two men are equal in any respect, much less all mankind in every respect. Some are good and virtuous, and some are bad and vicious; some are intellectual, and others are fools and idiots; some are strong and powerful and endowed with extraordinary physical strength, whilst others are weak and feeble; some are born to wealth and a glorious inheritance, others are the heirs of poverty and infamy. *All men are not created equal*, and it is a great falsehood to say so." These were the sentiments of a most intelligent and high-toned gentleman.

A few years before Mr. Calhoun's death he told me that he was making a speech in the Senate of the United States and criticising the language of Mr. Jefferson in his Declaration of Independence. He said he was prevented by the presence of ladies in the gallery from expressing himself as he wished to do. He not only wished to controvert the idea that all men were created equal, but he denied that *men were created* at all. He said there had been no *creation* of men since that of Adam and Eve. Men were not *created*, nor were they *born men*! *Babies* were *born*, and only babies. They grew to be men afterwards.

When South Carolina voted Mr. Jefferson's heirs ten thousand dollars because he was the author of the Dec-

laration of Independence, Chancellor Harper spoke of the Declaration of Independence as a very poor State paper for the great occasion which called it forth. I have always supposed that Mr. Jefferson only intended to say that all men were equally entitled to participate in their governments; in modern language, "equal before the law."

Thomas Jefferson was born April 2, 1743, in Albemarle County, Virginia. His father, Colonel Peter Jefferson, was a man of influence and fortune, and a member of the House of Burgesses. Like Washington, he commenced life as a surveyor, with a common English education. Peter was a very large man, and a giant in strength. He could turn on end two hogsheads of tobacco at the same time, each weighing one thousand pounds. The family of Jefferson came from Wales and settled in Virginia when there were only six hundred inhabitants in the whole province. One of the Jeffersons was a member of the first legislative body that ever assembled in Virginia, which was in 1619, eleven years after the first settlement. The mother of Thomas Jefferson was a Randolph, and belonged to an aristocratic family which traced their lineage back to the Earl of Murray, connected with the most distinguished peerages in Scotland and England and with royalty itself. She is said to have been a very beautiful woman, and was born in England, and was well educated and fond of writing letters; she was a good Virginia housewife and an intellectual woman. Her family and position in society enhanced that of her husband's.

Thomas Jefferson had the misfortune to lose his father when he was twelve or thirteen years old; but his mother lived to see him distinguished as a member of the old Continental Congress which declared the Colonies free and independent States. His father directed that he should have a finished education, and Jefferson said, in after life, that he valued this more than if he had left him his whole estate. Accordingly, in 1760,

he entered Mary and William College. On his way to college he stopped at Colonel Dandridge's to spend his Christmas, and there met a broken merchant, "whose passion," says Jefferson, "was fiddling, dancing and pleasantries." He and Jefferson struck up an intimacy which lasted throughout their lives. This broken merchant was Patrick Henry. Some time afterwards he called on Jefferson in Williamsburg, and informed him that he had been reading law, and had come down to be admitted to the bar.

Jefferson's maternal relations who resided in Williamsburg, and who belonged to the most aristocratic society there, paid him great attention and introduced him to Governor Fauquier, from whom it is said Jefferson first obtained his sceptical notions in religion. He was a hard student in college, although he entered into all the gaiety and fashion of the city, then the seat of government. Whilst in college Jefferson fell desperately in love with Miss Rebecca Burwell, who partially engaged herself to him, and then after years of love, deserted him and married another. Little did the young lady think that she was giving up a future President of the United States for an ordinary humdrum husband. It would seem from the early disappointments of Washington and Jefferson in love that the young ladies of Virginia had not the sagacity of Mrs. John Adams of Massachusetts. Jefferson at this time was only eighteen or nineteen years old, and he did not get married till he was twenty-nine. Then he took a widow twenty-three years old, with one hundred and thirty-five slaves and forty thousand acres of land. Her maiden name was Wayles and her first husband's name was Skelton. She was a beautiful and accomplished lady. Jefferson's fortune at the time of his marriage was about equal to his wife's, and his income at the bar was very considerable.

Henry S. Randall, the biographer of Mr. Jefferson, describes the person and appearance of the future President at this time, as follows: "His appearance was en-

gaging and he was generally a favorite with the ladies. His face though angular, and far from beautiful, beamed with intelligence, with benevolence and with cheerful vivacity of a happy and hopeful spirit. His complexion was ruddy and delicately fair; his reddish chestnut hair luxuriant and silken. His full, deep-set eyes, the prevailing color of which was a light hazle, were peculiarly expressive. He stood six feet two and a half inches in height, and though very slim at this period his form was erect and sinewy, and his movements displayed elasticity and vigor. He was an expert musician and a fine dancer, a dashing rider, and there was no manly exercise in which he could not play well his part. His manners were unusually graceful, but simple and cordial. His conversation was charming. His temper gentle, kindly and forgiving. There is not an instance on record of his having been engaged in a personal rencounter, or his having suffered personal indignity. He never gambled or was able to distinguish one card from another. He had an aversion to strong drinks, and his mouth was unpolluted by oaths or tobacco."

This life of Jefferson, in three large volumes, is a most admirable work, nobly vindicating the character of Jefferson, and minutely and accurately portraying his whole life, public and private. I met the author in the Charleston Convention in 1860, and he sought an introduction to me as one of the committee on credentials, for the purpose of giving me some of the incidents in the life of Fernando Wood, who headed a delegation contesting the seats of the regular nominees. I was greatly disappointed in the appearance of Mr. Randall. I had just read his life of Jefferson and imagined he was a pale-faced, slender and intellectual-looking gentleman, perhaps in bad health, from long and laborious study. I found him stout, well-built, with a round, ruddy face, looking more like a New York alderman or retired merchant than a student or literary gentleman. He was, however, pleasant, intellectual, and I have no

doubt a finished scholar, and a learned and laborious gentleman. We seldom form a correct picture in our imagination of any one whom we have not seen.

Mr. Jefferson's reading in college and whilst studying law was very extensive and varied. History, philosophy, science, fiction, poetry, and the French, Italian and Spanish languages, as well as Greek and Latin, were all studied or read. Ossian's Poems were first published about that time, and he pronounced Ossian "the greatest poet that ever existed." Later in life he changed his opinion and seldom referred to the poem. He read law with Chancellor Wythe, who had the reputation of being the purest man and the ablest lawyer in Virginia.

Although no great speaker, Jefferson was very successful at the Bar as long as he continued to practice his profession. It is stated that he averaged three thousand dollars in cash every year from the time he was admitted till he gave up his profession. This was doing very well for the times. His great success in life was owing to his conversational powers, his talent for writing letters and his democratic principles. He was a born Democrat, although his kindred and associates were all of the old Virginia aristocracy.

In 1769 he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses at the age of twenty-six. At the session of 1773 Jefferson conceived the idea of appointing a committee of correspondence and introduced a resolution to that effect. He was a great manager and had great tact in his management. These committees of correspondence united all the colonies and stirred them up to resistance to the legislation of the British Parliament. The Governor immediately dissolved the Legislature and the members were all re-elected. Jefferson proposed, in consequence of the passage of the Boston Port Bill, a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. This caused the Governor to dissolve the Legislature once more. A Convention of the people was then called, and Jefferson was elected a member of it, and being unable to attend

the Convention he sent a paper which was in fact a Declaration of Independence. This paper, though not adopted, was published, and caused Jefferson to be denounced in England as a bold traitor. He was elected a member of the Continental Congress in 1775 in place of Peyton Randolph, who declined to serve longer. He made his mark in this Congress as soon as he took his seat, although he never made a set speech.

In 1776 he resigned his seat in Congress and went into the Legislature of Virginia for the purpose of reforming her laws. He introduced four bills, one to cut off estates, another to destroy the right of primogeniture, a third to give religious liberty and repeal the establishment of the Episcopal Church as the religion of the State, and a fourth to prohibit the importation of slaves into Virginia. These bills rendered him very unpopular with the wealthy old Virginians, who wished to entail their property, make their oldest son a man of fortune at the expense of all the rest of their children, have a church established like old England, and purchase more slaves to increase their wealth.

In June, 1779, Mr. Jefferson was elected Governor of the State, at a time of most imminent peril, whilst Virginia was invaded and ravaged, north and south, by Arnold and Tarleton. He conducted the affairs of the State with prudence and energy, and secured the thanks of the Legislature at the expiration of his term of office. In 1783 he was again elected a member of Congress, and prepared the beautiful address to Washington on his surrendering his commission as Commander-in-Chief of the army. In 1784 he was appointed plenipotentiary minister to France, with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, where he remained till 1789, when he returned to the United States and was appointed by General Washington Secretary of State. In 1793 he resigned his office and retired to private life. He was then elected Vice-President, and in 1800 President of the United States. He was re-elected at

the expiration of his first term, and then retired from public life altogether. The last years of his life were spent in founding the Virginia University. He requested that the only inscription on his tombstone should be that he was the author of the Declaration of Independence and the founder of the Virginia University. He died on the 4th of July, 1826, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

Like all great men, and especially great statesmen and politicians, Mr. Jefferson had his calumniators and detractors. He organized the Democratic party, which still exists, maintaining the same political principles which it first adopted, and were so dear to Mr. Jefferson that he embodied them in his first Inaugural Address as President of the United States. "Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations entangling alliances with none; the support of the State Governments in all their rights, as the most competent administration for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole Constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the rights of election by the people; a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution when peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority; the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force the vital principle and immediate point of despotism; a well-disciplined militia; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense; the honest payment of debts; encouragement of agriculture and commerce; the diffusion of information; freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of the person under the protection of *habeas corpus*, and trials by juries impartially selected."

Alexander Hamilton, the great intellectual rival of Mr. Jefferson, was at the head of the opposition to the Democratic or Republican party, and organized the old Federal party, which was at first a party of gentlemen, patriots, heroes and statesmen. They were in favor of a strong Federal government, a liberal, or latitudinarian construction of the Federal Constitution. These two parties have ever since divided the American people and still divide them. The old Federal party disgraced themselves by enacting the alien and sedition laws, by opposing the war of 1812, and by their strong national predilections. They have changed their party name very often within the last seventy-five years, and disgraced every name they ever assumed. President Grant capped the climax of Federal infamy by trampling on the rights of the States and placing the military authority above the civil.

Nor has the Democratic party been free from grievous errors. Mr. Jefferson carried his States' rights doctrine so far as to contend for the right of nullification and secession on the part of the States. This would make the Federal Union a rope of sand, liable to be destroyed by every State in the Union at any time.

In 1819 the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence was discovered, which purported to have been adopted on the 20th of May, 1775, more than one year before Mr. Jefferson wrote his Declaration of Independence. The similarity in language between these two papers induced many persons to charge Mr. Jefferson with plagiarism. This annoyed him very much, and he declared that he had never seen or heard of the Mecklenburg Declaration before. John Adams made the same assertion. Mr. Randall in his life of Jefferson explains this matter very satisfactorily. There was a public meeting at Charlotte, the county seat of Mecklenburg, on the 30th of May, 1775, when very spirited resolutions were adopted, amounting to a Declaration of Independence, drawn by Ephraim Brevard. These

resolutions were published at the time of adoption in a North Carolina paper and also in England. When old Mr. Natt Alexander died there was found amongst his papers this famous Declaration of Independence, said to have been adopted on the 20th of May, 1775, and which the old gentleman says, "to the best of his recollection," is the substance of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. The old man had evidently been reading Jefferson's Declaration for thirty or forty years and copied it in part. The Declaration was never published like the resolutions and evidently never had any existence till written out by Mr. Alexander. Bancroft takes this view of the matter in his history of the United States and ignores the meeting on the 20th of May, and the Declaration entirely. My friend, Governor Swain, of North Carolina, spent a good deal of time in investigating this vexed question, and came to the same conclusion with Bancroft and Randall.

The administration of Jefferson, for eight years, as President of the United States, was most popular and successful. He restored the Government to its true Republican principles, and purchased a territory almost as large as the original thirteen States. A dozen independent sovereign States have been or will be formed out of this magnificent empire and added to the Federal Union. Measures were adopted for the speedy payment of the National debt, a most salutary reduction of the expenses of the Government was made, surplus offices were abolished, and executive patronage reduced, the Tripolitan aggressions gallantly chastised, commerce extended, and the peace of the Republic maintained.

Mr. Jefferson was a philosopher and a man of science, as well as a statesman. He was elected as the successor of Franklin and Rhittenhouse, President of the American Philosophical Society. He had great mechanical genius as well as literary taste. His writings have been published in nine large volumes. In his retire-

ment at Monticello he kept an open house and entertained an immense number of visitors with great hospitality. He was kind and affectionate in his family ; having lost his wife after being married only ten years, he devoted himself to the education and bringing up of his two little daughters, and never married again. His temper was calm, sedate and philosophical. No one remembers ever to have seen him in a passion. In this respect he was the superior of Washington. He regarded religion as a matter of conscience between every one and his God, and neither man nor government had any right to interfere in the matter. His great hospitality, benevolence and indorsing for his friends ruined him financially, and he died insolvent. Such was the sage of Monticello and the great Apostle of Liberty.

JAMES MADISON.

The commonwealth of Virginia has been proudly styled "the mother of States and statesmen." She is justly entitled to this mark of distinction. Virginia gave to the Federal Union the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana. She gave the Republic Patrick Henry, whose fiery eloquence first sowed broadcast the seeds of rebellion against Great Britain's tyranny and oppression which ripened into American Independence. She gave the Colonies, at the commencement of the Revolution, the Commander-in-Chief of their armies who led them to victory and achieved their independence, and won for himself the appellation of "Father of his country," "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." An illustrious statesman of hers drew the immortal Declaration of Independence. And another son of the Old Dominion has been properly termed "the father of the American Constitution." Seven of the Presidents of the Republic were born in the State of Virginia; and all the other States, now thirty-nine in number, have only furnished eleven Presidents.

James Madison, the fourth President of the United States, and the subject of our present sketch, is justly entitled to be called the "father of the Federal Constitution." He saw the imperfection of the old Articles of Confederation which made the general government dependent on the States for the enforcement of its laws and the collection of its revenues. This voluntary obedience on the part of the States did very well whilst they were struggling for independence and overrun by the armies of Great Britain. But no sooner was danger removed than they became remiss in their contributions.

for the support of the General Government and regardless of its injunctions and legislation. Mr. Madison proposed a convention of all the States at Annapolis in 1786 for the purpose of amending the Articles of Confederation. He was appointed a delegate to this Convention by the State of Virginia. But only five States sent delegates, and he then proposed another Convention to meet in Philadelphia. The States were all urged to be represented in this Convention. Madison was again appointed a delegate with Washington and other distinguished statesmen of the Old Dominion. All the States sent delegates to this Convention except Rhode Island. She was so much pleased with the Articles of Confederation that she was unwilling to have them altered or amended.

Madison was the ruling spirit in this Convention, and had the Constitution formed according to his views of a complex republican government. When the Federal Constitution was adopted by the Convention he knew there would be great opposition to it by many of the States, and misconstruction of its powers. He and Alexander Hamilton and John Jay agreed to write articles explaining every section, which they did with great ability. These articles were collected and published as the *Federalist*, and did insure the ratification of the Constitution by the several States. Mr. Jefferson said these essays had removed a great many of his objections. He was in France at the time the Convention met. Thousands of others expressed the same sentiment. When the Virginia Convention met to consider the Federal Constitution, Mr. Madison was a member of it. He and Chief Justice Marshall were its great advocates, and Patrick Henry and George Mason were its greatest opponents. Finally the Constitution was adopted by a majority of only ten votes. No doubt the arguments and explanations of Madison and Marshall secured this small majority.

James Madison was born March 16th, 1751, at the house of his maternal grandmother, in King George

county, Virginia. His father, James Madison, lived in Orange county at that time, and his son James continued to live there all his life except when engaged in public affairs. The Madisons were among the first settlers in Virginia. The State Paper Office at London contains a list of all the colonists in 1622, and amongst them is the name of Captain Isaac Madison. In 1653 there was a patent taken out by John Madison between the North and York Rivers. This John was the great, great grandfather of President Madison. His mother's maiden name was Conway, and she lived to be ninety-seven years old. His father died just as he was appointed Secretary of State by Mr. Jefferson. But his mother lived to see him twice elected President of the United States, and then a retired farmer. She lived in the same house with him all her life, and was treated with the greatest tenderness by him and his accomplished lady.

In the life of Madison, by the Honorable William C. Rives, it is stated that a gentleman who was visiting Mr. Madison, asked to see his mother, who was then ninety-seven years old. She was reclining on a couch reading a book which she closed, and took up her knitting after the gentleman was introduced to her. She said her health was good, and she spent her time very pleasantly reading and knitting. The old lady expressed herself under many obligations to Mrs. Madison, her daughter-in-law, for all her kindness and attention to her. She said her eyesight was good. The father of Madison was a gentleman of large fortune, but never engaged in politics. Feeling the great misfortune of not having been educated himself, he determined to give all of his sons a collegiate education.

Mr. Madison's health was always delicate and his parents concluded that it would not be safe to send him from the mountains to William and Mary College, and therefore he entered Princeton College, and graduated there in 1771 under the Presidency of Dr. Witherspoon.

There grew up between Madison and the Doctor, who was a Scotchman, a very strong friendship and attachment which continued throughout their lives. Madison used to tell a great many stories on the old gentleman and imitate his Scotch brogue. After leaving college Madison went home and commenced a course of reading, which embraced law, theology and philosophy. His object was to prepare himself, not for the bar or pulpit, but for the life of a statesman.

In 1776, when he was twenty-five years old, he was elected a member of the Legislature. His modesty and diffidence prevented his speaking or attempting to speak in the House of Burgesses. This displeased his constituents and at the next election he was beaten. The cause assigned for his defeat was that he would not treat and had made no speeches in the Legislature. It is very probable that if he had treated liberally, his constituents would have excused his not speaking. The Legislature, however, elected him a member of the Council, and he continued in this position whilst Henry and Jefferson were Governors of Virginia. It is said his services in Council were indispensable to Governor Henry. Whilst a member of this small body he learnt to speak, and in after life became one of the greatest debaters in Congress. No one surpassed him in making a calm, lucid argument.

In 1780 he was elected a member of Congress and continued in the old Continental Congress for four or five years. After the ratification of the Federal Constitution he was a candidate for the United States Senate and beaten. The Republicans were in a majority in the Legislature, although the Federalists had adopted the Constitution. His constituents elected him to the House of Representatives in Congress, where he became distinguished as a leader and debater. He remained in Congress during the whole of Washington's administration, and acted with the Republican party. But so mild was he in his opposition that he retained the respect and

esteem of both Washington and his old friend Alexander Hamilton. He became the fast friend and political follower of Mr. Jefferson, who was organizing the Republican or States' Rights party in opposition to John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, the leaders of the Federal party.

In 1799 Madison went into the Virginia Legislature once more to defend his celebrated Virginia Resolutions. He made an elaborate report on them which has become the text book of the States' Rights party all over the Union. The Republican party was successful in the Presidential election of 1800, and Mr. Jefferson was elected over John Adams. He appointed Madison Secretary of State, and he had to take up his residence in Washington, where he remained for sixteen years as Secretary of State and President of the United States, and where Mrs. Madison became as distinguished as her husband for her brilliant levees and entertainments.

Mr. Madison did not get married until he was forty-three years old, and he then, like Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Jackson, and other great men, married a widow sixteen years younger than himself. Mrs. Madison's maiden name was Payne. Her father was a Virginian, who became an abolitionist, emancipated his slaves, and moved to Philadelphia. There his daughter married a young Quaker lawyer by the name of Todd, who died a few years after his marriage, leaving his widow with one child, a son. She was a most charming and accomplished woman, and surpassed all the ladies who have ever been occupants of the Presidential mansion in graceful, easy and cordial manners. There was said to have been a striking contrast between her fascinating reception, and the cold, stiff, formal ones of Mrs. Washington's. The one was all grace, and the other all dignity. She made every one easy and happy who approached her.

The Hon. William C. Preston used to give an amusing account of his introduction to Mrs. Madison. He was a large, overgrown boy, and went to Washington

during Madison's administration. His father gave him a letter to the member of Congress from that district, and requested him to introduce his son to the President and his lady. The member very kindly and patronizingly carried young Preston to the White House, and as Mrs. Madison came into the room with a book in her hand, she said: "I require no introduction to Mr. Preston, and think I ought to know him, as I was the first person in the world who ever saw him." She told him that he must take up his abode with her, and that she had some young ladies from Virginia who would make his stay pleasant. No excuse or refusal would she receive, and the young gentleman remained at the White House two or three weeks, enjoying himself most pleasantly. The member of Congress was greatly surprised at the result of his condescending patronage to one of his young constituents. He seemed rather displeased that his young *protégé* should have met with such honors at court. It divested him of all the gratitude which he expected for having honored so highly his young constituent.

Mrs. Madison must have experienced a great contrast between her staid Quaker home in Philadelphia and the excitement and brilliancy of the Presidential mansion. She must have thought there was a great difference between her first and second marriage. The one was not congenial to her spirit and nature, whilst the other lent enchantment to her life and developed her soul and thoughts. It is said that a woman always values and loves her first husband most, and man his last wife. It is doubtful whether Mrs. Madison would have been willing to exchange her second husband for her first. And the same doubt may very well be expressed as to Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Jefferson, Mrs. Franklin, Mrs. Jackson, and Josephine Bonaparte. Mrs. Madison survived her illustrious husband fifteen or sixteen years, and was eighty-two years old when she died.

By the Colonial charter of Virginia, the Episcopal Church was the established religion of the Province.

In 1774 the Baptists were persecuted, and seven or eight of their ministers thrown into jail near where Madison resided. This was abhorrent to his nature, and he expressed himself in very strong terms against this persecution of religious liberty. In one of his letters to his friend Bradford, of Philadelphia, he uses the following language: "That diabolical, hell-conceived principle of persecution rages among some; and, to their eternal infamy, the clergy can furnish their quota of imps for such purposes. There are at this time, in the adjacent county, not less than five or six well-meaning men in close jail for publishing their religious sentiments, which, in the main, are very orthodox. I have neither patience to hear, talk, or think of anything relative to this matter." He afterwards had the gratification of passing in the Legislature one of the bills drawn by Mr. Jefferson restoring religious toleration to the State and disestablishing the Episcopal Church. No one, after that law had passed, was bound to support any sect. All had the right to support such preachers as they liked and were not required to support any others. The Baptists had a right, as well as all other denominations, to preach without molestation. It is remarkable that Jefferson and Franklin, whose religious notions were skeptical, should have been the great champions of religious freedom in America.

Madison was a singularly pure, chaste, moral man, and devoted to civil, political, and religious liberty. He was also one of the most diffident and modest of men, but as firm a man in carrying out his principles as ever lived. He hated with a bitter hatred all wars, and it was necessity alone which made him give his reluctant consent to the war with Great Britain in 1812. Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Lowndes, Judge Cheves, and Felix Grundy were most vehement in urging a declaration of war for months before they could get President Madison to consent to it. Had this declaration of war been postponed a few weeks longer, the repeal of the Berlin and

Milan Decrees by Bonaparte, and consequently the revocation of the orders in Council by England, which did take place, would have superseded the necessity of war.

Mr. Madison was elected President of the United States in 1808, to succeed Mr. Jefferson, by a large majority of the electoral votes. He received 122 out of 175 of the votes cast. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney received 47. In 1800 this distinguished son of South Carolina received 64 votes for President, and if he had permitted South Carolina to vote for him without voting for John Adams, he would have had 72 votes and been Vice-President. Jefferson received only 73 votes in this election. In 1812 Madison was re-elected by a still larger vote over De Witt Clinton. Madison received 128 votes and Clinton 89. The Federalists made strong opposition to him on account of the war.

The war of 1812, into which Mr. Madison was most reluctantly forced by his party, proved a great event in the history of the United States, and was termed our Second War of Independence. It gave the Republic national character abroad for honor and pluck and taught the mistress of the seas a lesson by our brilliant naval victories which she will not soon forget.

Governor Middleton once mentioned to me that in searching over his father's old papers he found a speech of Mr. Madison's in the old Continental Congress, taken down in shorthand by his father, Arthur Middleton, who was at that time a member of the Congress. In this speech Mr. Madison urged a treaty with Great Britain, acknowledging the independence of all the States except the Carolinas and Georgia, which were to remain British Provinces. This caused Governor Middleton great surprise and astonishment. He thought there must be some mistake about the matter, and on meeting Mr. Madison long afterwards he mentioned the fact to him. Mr. Madison acknowledged that he had made such a speech, and justified himself on the ground

that Georgia and the Carolinas had been conquered and subdued by the armies of Great Britain, and were then entirely under British government.

In explanation of Mr. Madison's conduct there is an important piece of history which should be mentioned. When France formed her alliance with the United States it was very important to get Spain also to accede to it. Mr. Jay was sent to the Spanish Court for this purpose, and the free navigation of the Mississippi was involved in the treaty. Virginia felt the deepest interest in this matter, and Mr. Madison was elected a member of Congress in 1780 for the express purpose of having the free navigation of the Mississippi acknowledged in any treaty that might be formed with Spain. Instructions to this effect were given Mr. Jay. Afterwards the members from Georgia and South Carolina, when those States were over-run by the British army, thought the importance of having the navy of Spain to co-operate with that of France would justify the relinquishment of the free navigation of the Mississippi, if Spain should make objections on that score. They were apprehensive that the "armed neutrality of Europe" might force the belligerents to make a treaty on the basis of *uti possidetis*. Such a treaty would leave the Carolinas and Georgia under the dominion of Great Britain. The members from these States induced Congress to rescind their instructions to Mr. Jay in regard to the free navigation of the Mississippi. I suppose it was on this motion to rescind that Mr. Madison made his speech. He thought it better to give up Georgia and the Carolinas than the free navigation of the Mississippi.

The State of Virginia at that time owned the whole of the territory now composing the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, which bordered on the Mississippi. Unless, therefore, the navigation of this great inland sea, as it was termed by Mr. Calhoun in after times, was kept open to its mouth, this immense territory would be greatly impaired in value. Dr. Franklin

said to the Court of France, that the relinquishment of the free navigation of the Mississippi would be like ceding his front door to a neighbor. A most happy illustration.

In 1776, Madison and Jefferson met for the first time in the Virginia Convention. The one was twenty-five years old, and the other thirty-three. They formed an intimacy and friendship for each other that continued for near a half century, without the shadow of a cloud ever coming between them.

They lived in the same neighborhood after their retirement from public life, and frequently visited each other in their extreme old age. In this same neighborhood lived another ex-President of the United States, James Monroe. It is singular that one State should have given the Republic seven presidents out of sixteen, and that three of those seven lived in the same neighborhood. They were not only presidents of the Republic like Grant and Hayes and Lincoln, but they were great and illustrious men, who would have done honor to any age or any country. They were statesmen as well as patriots, devoted to learning, philosophy and liberty.

Madison was so amiable, mild and pure in every thought and action that he seldom, if ever, gave offence to any one in the most exciting times of party politics. In argument and debate he was so fair that no one could take exception to what he said, and at the same time his reasoning was lucid, logical and forcible, that it was hard to resist his conclusions. As a debater he was pre-eminent in Congress, yet when he first entered public life he could not speak at all. Gradually he acquired the habit, and became perfect in the art. Public speaking is a trade, and may be learned like all other trades. It only requires perseverance and practice.

The biographer of Mr. Madison mentions a love affair of his, when he was thirty-one or two years old, which places him in the same category of disappointed

lovers with Washington and Jefferson. Whilst a member of the old Continental Congress in Philadelphia, he became fascinated, statesman and philosopher as he was, with the beauty, grace and charms of a lovely and accomplished daughter of General William Floyd of New York, friend of Mr. Jefferson, and signer of the Declaration of Independence. The young lady reciprocated his affection, and they were pledged to each other. But exercising the right which all young ladies claim of changing their minds, "this auspicious attachment," says Mr. Rives, "terminated at last in disappointment." Thereupon his friend Jefferson, who had been served in the same way, at a much earlier period of life, writes him a letter of consolation, intimating that there are as good fish in the seas as have ever been caught out of them. He says: "I sincerely lament the misadventure which has happened, from whatever cause it may have happened. Should it be final, however, the world still presents the same and many other resources of happiness, and you possess many within yourself. Firmness of mind, and unintermitting occupation will not long leave you in pain." Good, kind, philosophical advice, which he no doubt gave from his own experience. Now this is the third President of the United States mentioned in our sketches, who was jilted and remained broken hearted for many years. In all probability this would not have been the case if these young ladies could have looked into futurity. We have also mentioned another president, John Adams, who would have shared the same fate if Miss Abigail Smith had obeyed the wishes and injunctions of her father. There is yet another President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, who was scornfully rejected by the mother of Miss Word of Laurens, S. C., when he asked for the hand of her daughter. It would seem that great men have not been fortunate lovers. Lord Bacon was not, and Napoleon Bonaparte was not.

The Federal Convention sat with closed doors, and no one was allowed to tell what had been done. But for Mr. Madison's diary or journal of the Convention the American people would know very little more than the result of the proceedings. He wrote out at full length what was done every day in the Convention. The motions made, who advocated, who opposed them, and the vote of the States. This journal is comprised in the "Madison Papers" in three volumes, and also a portion of the debates of the old Congress, and letters of Mr. Madison. Included in this work is also Mr. Jefferson's account of the debate on the Declaration of Independence.

James Madison was a small man with a feeble constitution, taciturn in public, but in company with his friends he possessed the genial humor of a boy. He was facetious and fond of telling a story. In his bearing and address he was modest and simple, and always dressed in a suit of black. He had a great many jokes on his friend Jefferson, which he told with great glee. He was eighty-five years old at his death in 1836.

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

The Lee family is one of the oldest, most distinguished and numerous families in Virginia. They trace their ancestors up to Launcelot Lee, from Loudon, France, who came over to England with William the Conqueror about eight hundred years ago. A descendant of Launcelot Lionel Lee raised a company and followed Richard Coeur de Leon to the Holy Land, in the Third Crusade, 1192. For gallant conduct at the siege of Acre he was created Earl of Litchfield. Richard Lee served under the Earl of Surrey in his expedition against the Scotch in 1542. Richard Lee, a younger son of the house of Litchfield, emigrated to America at the first settlement of Virginia. He was one of the king's privy council. Before Charles II. had been called to the throne, he and Sir William Berkly proclaimed him king in Virginia, and hence the colony was called the "Old Dominion." This Richard had several children, and the two eldest, John and Richard, were educated at Oxford. This Richard left five sons and one daughter. Thomas, one of these sons, married Miss Ludwell, and became the father of six sons, and at his death was Governor of Virginia. These sons were Philip Ludwell, a member of the Council, Thomas Ludwell, Richard Henry, the subject of this sketch, Francis Lightfoot, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, William, who married in England and was elected an alderman of London, Arthur, who studied medicine in Edinburgh, took his degree, then read law in Lincoln's Inn, was agent for the Province of Massachusetts, and afterwards minister with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane at the court of France. Henry Lee, of Leesylvania, was the cousin of Richard

Henry Lee, and father of Colonel Henry Lee, of the Legion. He married Lucy Grymes, the sweetheart and "lowland beauty" of General Washington. Harry Lee, of the Legion, was her son, a great favorite of Washington's, and the father of General Robert E. Lee, of the Confederate army.

The Lee family is now much older than it was, and more numerous, but not so distinguished. I remember Judge Mason, afterwards minister to France, telling me one night at his house in Washington, how low the Lee family had sunk in Virginia. He said he was holding court on the Northern Neck, where the Lees had all lived as aristocrats for more than a century, and one of their descendants was brought into court as a witness. It appeared in the investigation that he was an old pauper, and supported by a mulatto woman. General Robert E. Lee, who was the model of a hero, patriot, Christian, and man, was the only one of the name at that time who had any desirable reputation. His half-brother, Henry Lee, was a man of talents and acquirements, but of infamous character. He was nominated by President Jackson, in 1830, as Consul-General for the kingdom of Algiers, and Senator Tazewell, of Virginia, moved to lay the nomination on the table till papers and persons could be sent for. When this was done the nomination was unanimously rejected, every Senator voting against the confirmation of his nomination. Randall, in his life of Jefferson, exposes fully his false and treacherous character. It is strange that so pure a man as General Robert E. Lee should have had so corrupt a brother. They had different mothers, though the same father.

Richard Henry Lee was born January 20th, 1732, in the county of Westmoreland. Two of his distinguished brothers were older than himself, and two younger. He was educated in Europe, and became a most finished scholar. His grandson, Richard Henry Lee, in his life of his grandfather, in two volumes, published in 1825,

says that when he was informed of his father's determination to send him to England to enter college, he commenced boxing with street negro boys. His father inquired why he should engage in such rough sport. He replied that he understood the boys in college had to defend themselves by boxing or they would be imposed on, and he determined to learn in time for self-defence. He was a hard student in college, and after graduating he made the tour of England, and returned home when he was about twenty years old. In the meantime his father had died and left him a handsome fortune. Instead of spending his time idly in the enjoyment of his fortune, he devoted himself to reading and studying law, politics, theology, science, history and belles lettres. He received the appointment of a magistrate, and was made President of the County Court. When Braddock's army came to Virginia he raised a company and tendered his services to the General, who rejected with scorn his Provincial militia. He was soon afterwards elected a member of the House of Burgesses, and, like Madison, he served his term out without attempting to make a speech. He was modest and diffident, and the House was filled with old and distinguished men.

The constituents of Mr. Lee were not so much offended by his silence in the Legislature as were those of Mr. Madison. They re-elected him to the House of Burgesses, and continued to elect him, whenever he was a candidate, for thirty or forty years. They remained steadfast to him through good report and through evil report. The first speech he ever made was on the subject of slavery. He wished to prohibit the importation of slaves from Africa, and stop that piratical trade in which the Northern States were at that time all concerned. But the first time he ever gave evidence of that true eloquence which was latent in his nature was in support of his brother, who had been rudely stopped by the speaker in the commencement of his speech. It is remarkable that one who became so eminent in after

life for his unsurpassed eloquence, should have been at first unable to speak. It was the case with Sheridan. His first effort was a failure. But he struck his head and said, "it was in there and should come out."

In the convention of all the colonies in 1774 at Philadelphia, Patrick Henry made the first speech, and was followed by Richard Henry Lee, both of Virginia. The one was pronounced the Demosthenes of America, and the other the Cicero. Whilst Henry thundered and lightened at the oppressions and tyranny of the British Parliament, Lee illuminated the whole subject with a steady, brilliant stream of flowing eloquence. His scholarship and learning, and his mild, graceful, courteous manner gave him the advantage of Henry. He was at that time and ever afterwards a finished orator in manner and substance. His person was fine, tall and manly, his language pure and chaste, his action graceful and courteous, and there was a deep feeling and expression of his noble face which convinced every one of his sincerity and truth. His eloquence was of the most persuasive and winning character, mild, gentle and fascinating. He alternately moved and instructed his audience, as he carried their feelings and understandings with him.

Unfortunately for Lee, in a thoughtless moment, and at the instigation of a friend, before the stamp act was properly considered, he wrote to England, making application for the collectorship under it. But on reflection he immediately changed his course and became the bitterest opponent it had in all Virginia. The Tories frequently flung this application in his face, and he had to explain. It stuck to him through life, but the people of his county always treated it with contempt. When a special committee was raised in the House of Burgesses to draught an address to the King, a memorial to the Lords and a remonstrance to the Commons against taxation without representation, Lee drew two of these able State papers. They breathed the genuine and eloquent

utterances of resistance. He originated an association in Westmoreland county in February, 1766, which went far beyond Henry's Resolutions of 1765. The association went to the house of the collector of stamp duties, burnt his commission and stamps, and made him swear to abandon his office.

In the winter of 1776 Mr. Lee had a suspicion that Robinson, the Speaker of the House and Treasurer of the State, had been guilty of improper conduct in regard to the public funds entrusted to him, and he moved an investigation. The Speaker was a man of great wealth, head of the aristocratic party of Virginia, and an amiable, popular man. This, however, did not deter Lee from doing what a sense of duty told him was right; but it made the whole aristocratic party his enemies. The investigation showed the truth of Lee's suspicions, and the ample estate of Robinson, after his death, was made to respond to all of his defalcations. He had loaned the public funds to his friends who were unable to replace them.

In 1768 Lee proposed a committee of correspondence with all the colonies for the purpose of concert of action in their resistance to the legislation of the British Parliament. In 1773 the committee was appointed, and by direction of the House proposed a general congress, which met in 1774. The address to the King was supposed to have been written by Lee, and the memorial to the people of British America was unquestionably by him. In speaking of these papers the great Earl of Chatham said:—"When your lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America, when you consider their decency, firmness and wisdom, you can not but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself I must declare and avow that in all my reading and observation, and it has been my favorite study—I have read Thucydides, and admired the master statesmen of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity and wisdom of conclusion, under such

complication of circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia." This is very high praise from a very high and noble source. Lee was one of the most polished of writers, as well as the most eloquent of orators. In this respect he was greatly superior to his compeer Henry, who was all-powerful in speech, but feeble with his pen.

Lee, after measuring his strength with the members of Congress, returned to his constituents with a high reputation as an orator and writer, and as a patriot and statesman. He was elected a member of the Virginia Convention in 1775, and powerfully sustained Patrick Henry in all of his legislation for the defence of the State, the organization of the militia, etc. He was re-elected a delegate to the Continental Congress, and was one of the most active business men in that body. In May, 1776, the Virginia Legislature instructed their delegates to declare the colonies free and independent of Great Britain. On the 7th of June, 1776, Lee moved the following resolution: "That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." This was seconded by John Adams, and a fiery debate immediately sprung up. Lee's speech on this occasion was said to have been the master effort of his life. According to Parliamentary usage he would have been appointed chairman of the committee to draw the Declaration of Independence, but in consequence of the sudden illness of his wife he had to return home, and Jefferson's name was substituted for that of Lee's. In this way he missed being the author of the Declaration of American Independence. How accidental sometimes is fame.

In 1777 Mr. Lee was defeated in his election as a member of Congress, in consequence of charges brought

against him in his absence. His constituency of Westmoreland county, ever true to him, immediately elected him a member of the Legislature. He asked for leave of absence from Congress, returned home and took his seat in the Legislature. He immediately demanded an investigation, and the Legislature was satisfied the charges were all false. George Mason, resigning his seat in Congress at this time, the Legislature elected Lee in his place. Thus he was amply vindicated and restored to his former position.

The journals of the old Continental Congress show that Richard Henry Lee, during his whole service in that body for ten or twelve years, was one of its most active, efficient and useful members. He was either chairman or a member of almost all the important committees. His scholarship, his extensive information, his talents and his ardent patriotism were put in constant requisition by Congress. At one time he was President of the Continental Congress.

Whilst the war of Independence progressed Lee and Henry acted together in all the great measures adopted by Congress and the Virginia Legislature. But after they had gained American Independence, they were constantly differing as leading members of the Legislature. Henry advocated the repudiation of British debts, and Lee insisted they should be paid. Henry wished the Continental bills to be received in payment of old debts. Lee contended this was not honest where the money had depreciated so much.

Richard Henry Lee was opposed to the ratification of the Federal Constitution. In this opinion he and his friend Patrick Henry agreed. Lee was not a member of the Virginia Convention, and why, it is not stated. But after the adoption of the Federal Constitution he was, on motion of Patrick Henry, elected one of the first United States Senators from Virginia over James Madison, who favored the adoption of the Constitution. Mr. Lee, however, warmly sustained the administration of

General Washington as long as he remained in the United States Senate. The amendments to the Federal Constitution which he suggested, were adopted, and he was reconciled to it. His ill health compelled him to resign his seat in the Senate of the United States in 1792. He retired to private life and died in 1794.

The private character of Richard Henry Lee was as fine as that of his public character. His mother was a Miss Ludwell, the daughter of Colonel Ludwell, and grand-daughter of the Governor of North Carolina. Her great-grandson says she was a high-toned aristocrat, and gave all of her care to her eldest son and daughters. Her younger sons, Richard Henry amongst them, "she gave up when boys to be fed in a great measure by their own enterprise and exertions." This was aristocratic maternal affection. It is horrible to see pride taking the place of love and destroying natural affection. But it is true with that society which gives all the property to the first born, and leaves the other children to scuffle for a living. There must be one gentleman in a family at the expense of a half-dozen paupers. This neglect of his mother, says Lee's biographer, made him self-reliant and independent.

Mr. Lee was twice married, first to Miss Aylett, and then to Mrs. Pinkard. His eldest brother, Ludwell Lee, was so much attached to him that he made him live with him, and, at his death, gave him all his estate. His house was at all times filled with guests attracted by his frank, generous hospitality, the suavity of his manner, and his instructive conversation. The following description of Richard Henry Lee is given in his biography:—"His person was tall and well-proportioned; the features of his face were bold and striking, and irradiated by an eye, in conversation or debate, pouring intelligence over them; his face was on the Roman model, his nose Cæsarean, the port and carriage of his head leaning persuasively and gracefully forward, and the whole contour noble and fine."

In shooting swan he lost the fingers on one hand, which he always had covered with black silk, and did not prevent his gestures being exceedingly graceful. "The note of his voice was deep and melodious. It was the sonorous voice of Cicero."

WILLIAM LOWNDES.

No American statesman ever died with a purer or more exalted reputation than William Lowndes, of South Carolina. So beautiful was his character, in private and in public, that no one ever imputed to him an intentional wrong. So clear was his mind and so wise his judgment that all seemed disposed to pay deference to his opinions. He was no partisan in politics, but rose above all parties and political divisions. He was a statesman without selfishness or ambition. All of his measures were for his country's good. His mind was great and comprehensive, and embraced his whole country. No sectional feeling could induce him, whilst a member of Congress, to advocate any measure which did not redound to the interest, prosperity, honor, and glory of the United States. His patriotism was as broad as the Republic. In his disposition he was so kind and gentle, so amiable and respectful to all, and so pure in his motives, that no one could take offence at anything he said or did.

The Lowndes family was one of the distinguished Revolutionary families of South Carolina, and rank with those of the Rutledges, Pinckneys, Elliotts, Haynes, Middletons, Laurens, Gadsdens, and Draytons. Rawlins Lowndes, the father of William, was born in the West Indies, and whilst an infant was brought by his parents to Charleston, where they settled about the year 1725. He was one of the judges of the Province under the British Crown, and in 1766 delivered the opinion of the court in favor of the legality of public proceedings without the use of stamped papers. This opinion was in opposition to that of the Chief Justice and a minority

of the court. This opinion was a very able and elaborate one, and sowed the seeds of resistance to oppression and taxation without representation in South Carolina. He was a sterling patriot, and a most firm and unflinching man. He admired those who loved British liberty and freedom, and moved, in the Legislature of South Carolina, that a statue of William Pitt, the great Earl of Chatham, be erected in Charleston, in acknowledgment of his patriotic services to the colonies and his noble defence of the British Constitution. This statue was erected before the Revolution, and now stands in front of the Orphan-house in the city of Charleston. During the attack of the British on the city the right arm of the statue was taken off by a cannon-ball. It was said to have been ominous, for the great Commoner declared that he would lose his right arm sooner than see the colonies, the brightest jewel of the English Crown, stricken from it.

In 1778 Rawlins Lowndes was elected President of South Carolina, under the new constitution, after John Rutledge had declined the office. He was taken a prisoner during the war, and was afterwards a member of the Legislature. He was bitterly opposed to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and declared that he wished no other epitaph on his tomb than "that he opposed the Federal Constitution as fatal to the liberties of his country." He was worthy of being the father of his great son, who is still frequently spoken of as "the great William Lowndes."

This illustrious son of a noble sire was born February 7, 1782, in the city of Charleston. The same year gave birth to John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, and Lewis Cass. In his seventh year he was sent to England to be educated, but returned after staying there three or four years, and completed his education in Charleston. He graduated in the Charleston College. I have frequently heard Judge Huger, the bosom friend and companion of William Lowndes, speak of him and describe

him personally, mentally, and morally. He said that his son, Rawlins Lowndes, whom I knew very well and whose groomsmen I was when he was married, was the very picture of his father in appearance, but totally different in every other respect. William Lowndes was very tall, slender, and ungainly in his appearance, and not one likely to attract attention for soldierly demeanor; but he was known as a gentleman of great firmness of character, and a high sense of duty in the discharge of public trusts. When, in 1807, the news reached Charleston of the naval conflict between the British frigate *Leopard* and the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, the arms-bearing men of Charleston, under the belief that a declaration of war would ensue, formed themselves into volunteer corps, of which only two survive to the present time, the Washington Light Infantry and Charleston Riflemen. To the surprise of many in the city William Lowndes was called to the command of the first-named company. It was remarked upon as strange that one so inexperienced in military affairs, and seemingly so unfitted for such duties, should be placed in such a position. William Lowndes, however, came forward, accepted the commission, mustered the company into the service of the State, and to the surprise of every one inaugurated a standard of discipline and drill which caused some of the less enthusiastic members to complain of the hardships of soldier duty; but the good effects of his short administration were felt by the W. L. I. for many years after he had left the captaincy, which he held less than two years.

William Lowndes and Judge Huger were about the same age and read law together. They entered the Legislature at the same time and soon after they were 21 years old. They were inseparable companions, and frequently bore hostile messages for each other. Duelling in those days was a sort of fashionable amusement in Charleston, and every young gentleman was bound to guard his honor from the slightest supposed reflection. When

Judge Huger met his brother-in-law, Major Henry Rutledge, immediately after his (the Judge's) marriage, Mr. Lowndes bore the challenge, and the Major, after accepting it, said he would like to know what offence he had given Mr. Huger? Mr. Lowndes had to tell him that the cause of offence had not been communicated to him by his principal. On one occasion Mr. Lowndes called on Judge Huger to bear a message to a celebrated duellist, William Boone Mitchell, who had rented his sister's house and would not give possession, as Mr. Lowndes thought, for the purpose of provoking him. When Judge Huger delivered the challenge, the gentleman, who was a man of character and honor, said: "Tell your friend that he is altogether mistaken. I had no purpose whatever of offending him, but am making arrangements to leave the house, and will do so in a very short time."

Mr. Lowndes died when he was only forty years old, and had been at that early age nominated by the Legislature of South Carolina as a candidate for the Presidency. He was universally popular in Congress, and had acquired a national reputation which was admired all over the Union. Had he lived there is little doubt he would have been elected in 1824 instead of John Quincy Adams. When nominated, he replied like a statesman and patriot, like an unambitious man of honor, and said: "The office of President of the United States is one which should never be sought for or refused." This expression of Mr. Lowndes has been frequently quoted and lauded, but adopted by few of our great men. It would be a golden rule to follow, not only as to the Presidency, but to all offices of honor or trust. William Lowndes never sought office in his life, but he did refuse high appointments under the government, when he thought no public duty required his acceptance.

Mr. Lowndes, after serving several years in the Legislature of South Carolina, was elected a member of

Congress from the Beaufort District, in 1810, when he was scarcely twenty-eight years old. He took his seat in that body December, 1811. John C. Calhoun and Langdon Cheves took their seats in Congress at the same time. What an illustrious trio of statesmen, orators and patriots for one little State to present to the National council! each one of which would have done honor to the Senate of Greece or Rome at the most glorious era of their history. These gentlemen, with Henry Clay and Felix Grundy, worthy associates in eloquence and ability, forced President Madison to declare war against Great Britain in 1812. This he did most reluctantly, as he was a man of peace and hated all wars. But the force brought to bear on him by these young representatives of National honor and Democracy was too much for him to resist. Had he held out a few weeks longer war might have been avoided, as "the Berlin and Milan decrees" were revoked by Napoleon, and "the orders in Council" repealed by the British Ministry.

Mr. Lowndes soon distinguished himself in the House of Representatives as one of the ablest and fairest debaters in that body. His gigantic intellect soared above all personalities and sarcasms in debate. He was never passionate or excited in argument, but always remained cool and calm, no matter what was said in reply. His purity of character was evinced in every measure he advocated or opposed. All could see his aim was for the honor and prosperity of his country. His first speech was on the increase of the navy in January, 1812, as preparatory for war. The army had already been increased thirty-thousand men. The idea was prevalent in Congress that no navy the United States could build up would be able to cope with that of England. Some of the members contended that our commerce was not worth the expense of a navy, and that a navy would be dangerous to the Republic.

In reply to these extraordinary views Mr. Lowndes

said: "I hope, however, to be excused for remarking that both these gentlemen (Johnson, of Kentucky, and McKee, of Pennsylvania) have considered the profits of commerce as confined to the merchant. They have forgotten that commerce implies a change of commodities in which the merchant is only an intermediate agent. He derives, indeed, a profit from the transaction, but so must the seller and the buyer, the grower and consumer, or they would not engage in it. So must all those who are supported by their own industry in commercial cities—the clerk, the artisan, the common laborer. Your trade was a few years ago unrestrained and flourishing. Did it not enrich the most distant parts of your country? It has since been plundered and confined. Does not the industry of the country languish? Is not the income of every man impaired? If commerce were destroyed, the mercantile class, indeed, could exist no longer; but the merchant, the rich capitalist, at least, would individually suffer less than any other part of the community, because, while their property would become unproductive, the value of money would rise rather than fall. The honorable gentleman from Kentucky opposes a navy now—he will oppose it forever. It would produce no possible good and all possible evil. It would infallibly destroy the Constitution. Will the honorable gentleman tell why? How? He sees the danger clearly! Will he explain it? An ambitious general might corrupt his army and seize the capital; but will an admiral reduce us to subjection by bringing his ships up the Potomac? The strongest recommendation of a navy in free governments has been hitherto supposed to be that it was capable of defending, but not enslaving its country. The honorable gentleman has discovered that this is a vulgar error! A navy is really much more dangerous than an army to public liberty! He voted for the army and expressed no fears for the Constitution! But a navy would infallibly terminate in aristocracy and monarchy! All this may be very true. But are

we unreasonable in expecting, before we give up the old opinion, to hear some argument in favor of the new one? The honorable gentleman has asserted his propositions very distinctly; we complain only that he has not proved them."

This speech of Mr. Lowndes was a very long and able one, and may be found in "Benton's Abridged Debates of Congress." It established his reputation as a debater and statesman. He learnedly discusses the naval history of Venice, Genoa, Holland, France, and England.

Mr. Lowndes's speech on the victories of Commodore Perry on Lake Erie, and Lieutenants Burrows and McCall (a native of Charleston) in the action between the *Enterprise* and *Boxer*, is unsurpassed for beauty and eloquence. It is too long to embody in this sketch, and I fear extracts will give you a very faint idea of its beauty and eloquence:—

"Although Lieutenant Burrows was mortally wounded early in this struggle," says Mr. Lowndes, "yet the skill and gallantry with which he commenced it, leaving no doubt that if he had been longer spared to the wishes and the wants of his country, the same brilliant success which resulted would have been obtained under his command; while the ability with which Lieutenant McCall continued and completed the contest assures to him as distinguished a fame as if he had carried the vessel into action. But the victory which was achieved in forty minutes, with the disparity in the effect of the fire of which there are other examples in American history—such a victory could only have been achieved by men who did not lose for a moment their confidence or their cool intrepidity."

"Of the victory of Lake Erie," Mr. Lowndes said, "it was more difficult to speak. It was impossible for him to speak in terms which could convey any adequate conception of the importance of the victory, of the unrivalled excellence of the officers, of the gratitude of the country. The documents referred to the committee

sufficiently prove that superiority of force on the part of the enemy which would have ensued their victory if it were not the appropriate character of military genius to refute the calculations which rely on the superiority of force. Nor was the victory obtained over an unskillful or a pusillanimous enemy. The English officers were brave and experienced, and the struggle on board their vessels before they were surrendered sufficiently attests the bravery of their seamen. They were skillful officers subdued by the ascendancy of superior skill; they were a brave foe that yielded to one yet braver. We know not an instance in naval or military history, in which the success of the contest appeared so obviously to result from the personal act of the commander as in this. When the crew of Captain Perry's vessel lay bleeding around him; when his ship was a defenceless hospital, if he had wanted, not courage—which, in an American officer, forms no distinction—but if he had wanted that fertility of resources which extracts from disaster the means of success and glory, he did not say if he had surrendered his ship, but if he had obstinately defended her; if he had gone down enwrapped in his flag; if he had pursued any other conduct than that which he did pursue—his associates might have emulated his desperate courage, but they must have shared his fate. The battle was lost."

Mr. Lowndes advocated with great ability the paying of pensioners at their own homes instead of collecting them in a body at a hospital. His speeches on the revenue, direct taxes, tariff, etc., are imperfectly given.

Mr. Lowndes spoke two hours on the Missouri question in 1820, and in a note of Colonel Benton's to this speech he says that the reporter lost the first part of his speech by the noise occasioned by the members in huddling around Mr. Lowndes so as not to miss a word he said.

"Mr. Lowndes being one of those so rare in every assembly, around whom members clustered when he rose

to speak that not a word should be lost, *where every word was to be luminous with intelligence and captivating with candor.* This clustering around him, always the case with Mr. Lowndes when he rose to speak, was more than usual on this occasion, from the circumstances under which he spoke—the circumstances of the Union verging to destruction, and his own condition verging to the grave. By his exertions, and those of other patriots, the Union was saved. No skill or care could stay his onward march to ‘that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns.’ He died prematurely at the age of forty.”

Although Mr. Lowndes was not a member of the House when he died, resolutions were passed to wear mourning for him, and highly complimentary speeches were made extolling his patriotism, his talents, his candor and his virtues. Governor Hamilton, of South Carolina, said:

“I know too well how you cherish the recollection of his virtues, not to be certain of your kindest and most respectful sympathy. It might, sir, be seemingly presumptuous in me to descant on his public virtues in this Assembly, where they were so conspicuously exercised for a period of ten years, in which the richest and most varied knowledge was so successfully blended with the purity and ardor of an ingenious spirit and the intelligence of a lofty intellect. But of his private virtues I may be permitted to speak. At home, where we knew him best, and loved him most, where our opportunities were most abundant for observing the delightful sway which the simplicity and modesty of his character exercised over the higher faculties of his nature, it will be allowed us to indulge in an affection for the individual, which is quite equal to the admiration which accompanied him abroad. In the softer charms of human life, in the relations of husband, parent, friend and master, he was amiable and conspicuously loved and distinguished.”

Mr. Archer, of Virginia, said: "Panegyric on this occasion was indeed rendered unnecessary by the settled feeling and opinion of this country in relation to Mr. Lowndes. He had been for a considerable time conspicuously before the public, a part of that time comprehending a very trying period of our history, and the judgment of the public had been awarded in relation to him. He was always ranked with the eminent names which had passed by and been consecrated to National respect. He was already ranked as a man superior in worth as he was in mind—as one of the purest, ablest and most faithful of the statesmen who claim from our country the meed of honor—as combining a large share of the highest titles to human deference and estimation, talent and public service and virtue."

Mr. Taylor, of New York, said: "The highest and best hopes of this country looked to William Lowndes for their fulfillment. The most honorable office in the civilized world—the Chief Magistracy of this free people—would have been illustrated by his virtues and talents. To manners the most unassuming, to patriotism the most disinterested, to morals the most pure, to attainments of the first rank in literature and science, he added the virtues of decision and prudence, so happily combined, so harmoniously united, that we know not which most to admire, the firmness with which he pursued his purpose, or the gentleness with which he disarmed opposition. His arguments were made not to enjoy the triumphs of victory, but to convince the judgment of his hearer; and when the success of his efforts were most signal, his humility was most conspicuous."

Judge Huger said to me that Mr. Lowndes differed widely from his eminent colleague in Congress, Judge Cheves, in this respect. When Mr. Lowndes made a great and masterly effort to carry a question on debate he was done and had nothing more to say, but Judge Cheves would renew his argument and make effort after effort to carry his measure. In speaking to Judge

Huger about great men always having great mothers, he said it was not the case with William Lowndes. His mother was a lady not remarkable for her intellectual endowments. I do not remember her maiden name or family.

Mr. Lowndes married early in life the daughter of General Thomas Pinckney, minister to Great Britain, and twice the Federal candidate for the Presidency of the United States. He had three children only, two sons and a daughter. The sons did not inherit their father's talents and greatness which is seldom the case with the sons of our distinguished men. The Adams family is the only exception that now occurs to me. They have been distinguished for talents in four generations.

William Lowndes, the pure patriot and great statesman, died at sea, and his body was cast into the ocean. He has no grave, no tombstone, and no one has seen proper to publish a memoir of his life. How neglectful are the Southern people of their great men's memory after they have been taken from them! They are not so remiss at the North, and life after life is published there of those who were not so great or distinguished as were William Lowndes, Langdon Cheves, Christopher Gadsden, John Rutledge, Robert Y. Hayne, George McDuffie, William C. Preston, and many others who have never had their lives written. I have understood that Colonel Grayson, a most graceful and accomplished writer, poet and statesman, prepared a memoir of the Hon. William Lowndes, which is now in possession of his descendants, but has never been published.

To the Washington Light Infantry of Charleston, which has survived the vicissitudes of nearly three quarters of a century, and which has discharged the patriotic and self-imposed duty of guarding and perpetuating the name and fame of this distinguished Carolinian, I inscribe this sketch. The young men of Charleston cannot have a higher example of private virtue and patriotic service to the country.

JOHN RANDOLPH.

The Randolph family is, perhaps, the most numerous family in Virginia, and connected with almost every distinguished man in the State. It would now be hard to find a family of any distinction in the Old Dominion that could not trace some connection with some branch of the Randolphs. Thomas Jefferson's mother was a Randolph. Chief Justice Marshall's great-grandmother was a Randolph. Governor James Pleasant's mother was a Randolph. Richard Bland, the celebrated Revolutionary leader and writer, was the son of Elizabeth Randolph. William Smith, the President of William and Mary College, and historian of Virginia, was the son of Mary Randolph. And hundreds of other distinguished Virginians might be named whose mothers, grandmothers, great-grandmothers or some more remote ancestor was a Randolph. The name of Randolph itself has always been distinguished in the history of the Commonwealth since the Declaration of Independence, as it was in Colonial times.

The founder of the Randolph family in Virginia was Colonel William Randolph, the son of a cavalier, whose fortunes were broken in the civil war. He came at a very early age to Virginia and established himself at Turkey Island, twenty miles below Richmond. He married the daughter of Henry Isham, of Bermuda Hundreds, Virginia, and was of the family of Ishams in Northamptonshire, England, who were baronets. He had seven sons and two daughters, a pretty good start to make towards founding a numerous family, and keeping the name of Randolph in existence. Six of these sons married and had large families. Richard,

the fourth son, married Jane Bolling, the great-granddaughter of Pocahontas, and the grandmother of John Randolph of Roanoke, the subject of this sketch. He was proud of his royal Indian blood, and it was his boast through life. The same princely blood flowed in the veins of Major Thadeus Bolling, and his father, Major Tully Bolling, of Greenville, South Carolina. John Bolling, the father of John Randolph's grandmother, was the son of Jane Rolfe, a granddaughter of Pocahontas. Every one knows the story of this Indian princess, and daughter of King Powhatan. How she saved the life of Captain Smith, fell in love with him, thought he was dead, and then married Rolfe, went to England with him, received great attention at Court, and there, to her great mortification, saw her old lover, Captain Smith.

William Randolph, the ancestor of all the Virginia Randolphs, was the nephew of Thomas Randolph, of England, the poet, and adopted son of Ben Jonson. The Randolphs were a family of great consideration in England, and claimed among their ancestors the powerful Scotch Earls of Murray, connected by blood or alliance with many of the noble families of England, and with royalty itself! William came to America in 1660 and settled twenty miles below Richmond, as above stated, on James River. He acquired an immense estate in lands, and left his seven sons all wealthy and well educated. He died in 1711, after having filled many important offices under the Colonial government. His descendants continued to fill some of these offices till the Revolutionary war broke out. They then all took sides with their country, and were prominent leaders of the Revolution. Peyton Randolph, one of them, was first President of the Continental Congress. Edmund Randolph was aide-de-camp to General Washington, Governor of Virginia, Attorney-General and Secretary of State of the United States. Thomas Mann Randolph was the son-in-law of Jefferson and Governor of Virginia.

Randall, in his life of Jefferson, says that the mother of Richard Henry Lee was a Randolph. This, however, is a mistake. His mother was a daughter of Colonel Ludwell.

The brilliant and eccentric orator and statesman, John Randolph, of Roanoke, was born June 2, 1773. His father was John Randolph, son of Richard and Jane Bolling. His mother was Frances Bland, daughter of Colonel Bland, a gallant patriot of the Revolution. "She was possessed of high, mental qualities, and extraordinary beauty," says Hugh H. Garland, in his life of her son. John inherited her talents, but not her beauty or amiability. The following beautiful description of her is given in Garland's life of her son: "Tradition, confirmed by the portraits extant, speaks in admiration of her uncommon charms. The high, expanded forehead, the smooth, arched brow, and brilliant dark eyes, the well-defined nose, and full, round, laughing lips, pregnant with wit and mirthfulness, the tall, expanded chest; the dark hair, winding in mossy folds around the neck and bosom; an open, cheerful countenance—all suffused with that deep, rich oriental tint that never fades—made her the most beautiful, sprightly and attractive woman of her age." She was married at seventeen, had four children, and left a widow at twenty-three. Three years afterwards, when she was twenty-six, she married St. George Tucker, a native of Bermuda. He made a most amiable and exemplary step-father.

"Little John" was her youngest and favorite child. He was, it is said, as inseparable from her as her shadow, always either by her side or on her knee. "In his dark eyes," says his biographer, "were reflected the sadness of her own soul; on his orphan brow was imprinted a kiss, that ever and anon a tear washed away." This, we suppose, was during her "unhappy" widowhood, as she termed it. After her second marriage, it is very probable "Little John" was not so much of a pet, and there were no tears to wipe away

the kisses she gave him. His step-father began to teach him and his brothers, as well as share with them their mother's love. John's constitution was very delicate, and he was permitted to do pretty much as he pleased. Mrs. Dudley, a cousin, ten years older than himself, said she had known him to swoon away in a fit of passion before he was four years old.

In speaking of himself Randolph said, "Indeed, I have remarked in myself from my earliest recollection, a delicacy or effeminacy of complexion that, but for a spice of the devil in my temper, would have consigned me to the distaff or the needle." This "spice of the devil" continued in his composition throughout life. The following interesting account of his early childhood is given by himself: "When I could first remember I slept in the same bed with my widowed mother—each night before putting me to bed, I repeated on my knees before her, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostle's Creed—each morning kneeling in the bed I put up my little hands in prayer in the same form. Years have since passed away; I have been a skeptic, a professed scoffer, glorying in my infidelity, and vain of the ingenuity with which I could defend it. Prayer never crossed my mind but in scorn. I am now conscious that the lessons above mentioned, taught me by my dear and revered mother, are of more value to me than all I have learned from my preceptors and compeers. On Sunday I said my catechism, a great part of which, at the distance of thirty-five years, I can yet repeat." How impressive this is of the importance of early teaching in religion and early instruction in virtue and morality and industry. It was an Arabian maxim, that a child should be "taught to ride and tell the truth." I would add to this maxim that he should be "taught to work, to study and to say the Lord's Prayer."

Before Randolph was eleven years old he had read Voltaire's history of Charles XII., the Spectator, Humphrey Clinker, Reynard the Fox, Tales of the Genii

and Arabian Nights, Shakespeare, Don Quixotte, Gil Blas, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, Pope, Homer, Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver, Tom Jones, Orlando Furioso, Thompson's Seasons, Goldsmith's Roman History, History of Braddock's War, Chaucer, Chatterton and Rowley, Young and Gay. But the Arabian Nights and Shakespeare were his favorites in boyhood and through life. This catalogue of books read by a boy eleven years old seems almost incredible. But he never took any out-door exercise and was not going to school. In childhood he was different from other boys, and in manhood he was different from other men. His biographer says, "He was a poet, a born poet, *nascitur non fit*. He did not write poetry, but he spoke it, he felt it, he lived it. His whole life was a poem, of the genuine epic sort, and mournfully true." "For poetry," says Randolph, "I have had a decided taste from my childhood, this taste I have sedulously cultivated. I have been all my life the creature of impulse, the sport of chance, the victim of my uncontrolled and uncontrollable sensations of a poetic temperament. I admire and pity all who possess this temperament." No doubt these words came from his heart.

The education of John Randolph appeared to be as irregular as his after political life. He was first sent to a private school kept by Walker Murray, then to a public school in Williamsburg, kept by the same teacher. He entered William and Mary College, there met Littleton W. Tazewell, who was his only intimate friend in the whole college, and continued to be his dear friend through life. He left William and Mary College, and went with his mother and step-father to the Island of Bermuda to visit his relations. When he returned, he entered Princeton College and remained there till the death of his mother. This sad event he felt most deeply, as he was devotedly attached to her. He said she was the only person in the world who understood his nature and character. He then entered

Columbia College in New York. His brother, Theodore, older than himself, had no taste for literature or study, and prevented John pursuing his studies as he otherwise would have done. How frequently two brothers are as different in their course through life as it is possible for two persons to be. His eldest brother Richard was said to have been at his death the most promising young man in Virginia.

John left Columbia College without graduating and traveled through the Southern States, visiting his friends, Henry Rutledge, of Charleston, and Mr. Bryan, of Georgia. He had become intimate with these two young gentlemen in Philadelphia. E. S. Thomas, in his "Reminiscences of Charleston," mentions Randolph and Sir John Nesbit coming into his book store one morning. He was then twenty-three years old, but looked like a boy and had no beard. I will give the following extract from Thomas's book: "One bright sunny morning early in February, 1796, might have been seen entering my book store in Charleston, S. C., a fine-looking, florid-complexioned old gentleman, with hair as white as snow, which, contrasted with his own complexion, showed him to have been a free liver on *bon vivant* of the first order. Along with him was a tall, gawky-looking, flaxen-haired stripling, apparently of the age from sixteen to eighteen, with a complexion of a good parchment color, beardless chin, and as much assumed self-confidence as any two-footed animal I ever saw. This was John Randolph. I handed him from the shelves volume after volume, which he tumbled carelessly over and handed back again. At length he hit upon something that struck his fancy. My eye happened to be fixed upon his face at the moment, and never did I witness so sudden, so perfect a change of the human countenance. That which before was dull and heavy in a moment became animated and flashed with the brightest beams of intellect. He stepped up to the old gray-headed gentleman, and, giving him a thunder-

ing slap on the shoulder, said: 'Jack, look at this.' I was young then, but I never can forget the thought that rushed upon my mind at the moment, which was that he was the most impudent youth I ever saw. He had come to Charleston to attend the races. There was then living in Charleston a Scotch baronet by the name of Sir John Nesbit, with his younger brother Alexander, of the ancient house of Nesbits of Dean Hall, some fifteen miles from Edinburgh. Sir John was a very handsome man, and as 'gallant, gay Lothario' as could be found in the city. He and Randolph became intimate, which led to a banter between them for a race in which each was to ride his own horse. The race came off during the same week, and Randolph won, some of the ladies exclaiming at the time, 'Though Mr. Randolph had won the race, Sir John had won their hearts!' This was not so much to be wondered at when you contrasted the elegant form and graceful style of riding of the Baronet with the uncouth and awkward manner of his competitor."

This Sir John Nesbit married the sister of Governor Joseph Alston, of South Carolina, a most beautiful and accomplished lady, and went off and abandoned her, saying that he had engaged himself to her in a state of inebriation and felt himself in honor bound to marry her. But he thought, I suppose, his honor did not bind him to live with her. A strange notion of honor in a Scotch baronet!

When the Federal Government was organized in 1789, John Randolph was in New York and attended the debates of Congress. He then went to Philadelphia, where the next session of Congress was held, and remained there for several years. He became intimate with Jefferson and adopted all of his States' Rights notions, which he adhered to through life. His associates, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Mason, Bland, and Tucker, were all of the Jefferson school in politics. His cousin, Edmund Randolph, was at that

time Attorney-General. He had opposed the Constitution in the Federal Convention, and refused to sign it; but in the Virginia Convention he was in favor of adopting it with some amendments. This cousin seems to have had no influence over the politics of John. He was a Federalist.

It is remarkable that one who was so strong a States' Rights man as John Randolph should have been so much of an aristocrat and so devoted to the principles of the British Government. He opposed the abolition of the right of primogeniture and the cutting off of entailment of property. He was bitterly opposed to any one exercising the right of suffrage unless he was a freeholder. He tells of his mother taking him, when a little boy, behind her on horseback and riding over the Roanoke farm. She waved her hand around, and said to him: "All these broad acres are yours. They were given you by your father, and you must never sell them." "Keep your land, and your land will keep you." He says it was remarked that Jefferson, Madison, and Wythe, who had no sons, might very well oppose the right of primogeniture and the entailment of property. Randolph was lamenting the degeneracy of Virginia and her sons to a number of English noblemen and ladies, when some one inquired the cause. He replied: "*The abolition of the right of primogeniture.*" Parton says that Randolph was more of an Englishman than an Englishman himself. He used to say there never was such a country before as England and there never would be again.

In 1799, John Randolph, then twenty-six years old, made his first speech at Charlotte court-house, in reply to Patrick Henry. Well may they have been termed the setting and rising sun. It was Henry's last speech and perhaps his greatest. Randolph spoke three hours after Henry concluded, and kept his audience spell-bound, standing on their feet. When he got up to speak, an old friend of Henry's said: "I do not wish to

hear that boy." Henry replied, "That boy has an old man's head on his shoulders, stay and hear him." The question discussed was that of the power of State and Federal Government. Henry was a candidate for the Legislature and Randolph for Congress. Both were elected. When Randolph presented himself at the clerk's desk to be sworn as a member of Congress, his boyish appearance induced the clerk to ask him if he was twenty-five years old. He replied, "go and ask my constituents, they sent me here." His maiden speech was on the increase of the army, and he called the troops ragamuffins. This induced two young officers to insult him in the theatre. In advocating the election of General Jackson many years afterwards, he said: "If I must have a master let him be one with epauletts, something which I can look up to; but not a master with a quill behind his ear." It is remarkable that Demosthenes, Cicero, Patrick Henry and John Randolph should all have been twenty-six or seven years old when they made their first speeches. Randolph's maiden speech in Congress gave him, at once, a national reputation with the first orators America had ever produced. "He had," says Parton, "something of Burke's torrent-like fluency, and something of Chatham's spirit of command, with a piercing, audacious sarcasm all his own. He was often unjust and unreasonable, but never dull. He never spoke in his life without being at least attentively listened to." His political friends listened to him to be instructed, and his political opponents to be amused with his wit and sarcasm.

He served in Congress twenty-five or thirty years. In 1801 he was appointed chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, and was continued in that position six years. This made him the leader of the House of Representatives, and a brilliant leader he was. He supported the administration of Mr. Jefferson with great zeal and ability till towards its close, when he broke with the administration for some cause not known,

and then became its bitter opponent. He transferred his opposition to Mr. Madison and affected to despise him. He opposed the declaration of war, the embargo, and non-intercourse with Great Britain. His speeches on these subjects were greatly admired in England. In 1824 he was elected to the U. S. Senate by the Virginia Legislature, and in 1830 he was appointed by President Jackson minister to Russia. He staid there only ten days and came to England. Governor Middleton told me that when Randolph arrived in St. Petersburg as his successor, he proposed to sell him his carriage and four. Randolph replied that he was no aristocrat or Southern nabob, and would have no such equipage. In St. Petersburg, Governor Middleton said no one but shop-keepers drove less than four horses. When Randolph returned to Virginia, Middleton met him driving to the court-house in a fine coach and four blooded horses. At home he could play the nabob or aristocrat, but in Russia he must be a plain Republican.

It is said that genius is nearly allied to madness, and this was surely the case with John Randolph of Roanoke. At one time he was prostrated with a fit of insanity, and ever afterwards his mind, at times, seemed unbalanced. On the death of his eldest brother, he would stride over the floor at midnight, and exclaim: "Macbeth hath murdered sleep." He saddled his horse, took a pair of pistols and rode all over his farm. On one occasion he sent word to two of his friends in Congress to come to his boarding-house and see him die. They went and asked him how he was. "Dying, sir, dying." Soon he began to talk about some question before the House. His friends saw that nothing was the matter with him, and asked him to go with them to the House of Representatives. He replied: "Dying, sir, dying." They took leave of him, and when they had taken their seats in the House, Randolph made his appearance, to their utter amazement, and commenced a speech in these words, "Mr. Speaker, this is Shrove

Tuesday, and many a gallant cock has died in the pit on this day; I will share their fate."

I remember hearing Mr. Webster tell at Dr. Gibbs's dinner table in Columbia, a great many most amusing and eccentric actions and expressions of Randolph in Congress and in England. For thirty years he had loved and revered his stepfather. In speaking of the descent of property Mr. Tucker said, you know John, if you were to die you would give your property to your half-brothers as your nearest relatives. "Damned if I know any such thing," said Randolph. From that moment he was at enmity with his stepfather, and would not be reconciled to the day of his death.

After being infidel, scoffer at all religion, and atheist, he joined the Episcopal Church, and was a regular communicant. But this did not prevent his accepting Mr. Clay's challenge, receiving his fire and shooting his pistol in the air. He emancipated his slaves, three hundred in number, and directed four thousand acres of land to be purchased for them in some of the free States. His elder brother had set his free, and they all turned out badly. He thought by sending his off they would do better. But they have not done well from accounts we have seen.

It is said that Randolph inherited all his mother's beauty as well as her talents. If so it must have left him at an early period of his life, for all of his likenesses from manhood to old age are far, very far, from being beautiful. His last likenesses seem as if they were intended for caricatures of the human form divine. He died in Philadelphia, June 24th, 1833. Garland, his biographer, has him involved in a mysterious love affair; whilst Parton says he was incapable of love for the other sex, and this was the received opinion of the public.

JOHN JAY.

Ramsay, in his "History of South Carolina," says John Jay was the boast and pride of New York. Well may such a patriot, statesman, jurist, and diplomatist have been the pride and boast of any State or nation. In the course of only twenty-seven years he filled with eminent ability a seat in the Continental Congress, a seat in the New York Convention, the Chief Justiceship of the State, the Presidency of Congress, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Minister at the Spanish Court, Plenipotentiary with Franklin, Adams, and Laurens to treat with Great Britain for the independence of the United States, Chief Justiceship of the United States, Special Ambassador to England, and the Governorship of New York. He was a writer of great ability, and the author of several of the best addresses issued by the Continental Congress. But more than all this, he had neither ambition nor the love of distinction. The invaluable services rendered his country in all these varied public stations were rendered from a sense of duty; and when a high sense of duty did not demand his services, he declined all offices, and spent thirty years of the latter part of his life as a private gentleman. The people of New York tendered him again the office of Governor, which he rejected, as duty no longer required him, in his opinion, to accept it. He declined the office of Chief Justice of the United States for the same reason when nominated a second time by President Adams. What a noble, disinterested patriot he was! No position was too humble for him when his country demanded his services in that position; and no office was exalted enough to tempt him from private life when duty did not require him to

fill it. He accepted the commission of a colonel in New York, when no other competent man would do so, at the commencement of the Revolutionary struggle.

John Jay was of French and German descent, and, like Sir Samuel Romilly, the pride of Great Britain, there was not a drop of English blood in his veins. His great-grandfather fled from France to England on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His son, the grandfather of John Jay, was abroad at the time, and on his return home he made his escape from the Catholics and came to Charleston, South Carolina, where he remained a year or two and then went to New York. There he married Miss Bayard, of Huguenot descent, and had three daughters and one son, Peter, the father of John Jay. Peter married Miss Van Cortland, was a merchant, made a fortune, and retired from business. John, his eighth child, was born December 12, 1745, in the city of New York. It is said that he was grave and sedate from his childhood. His mother, who was a superior woman, taught him as far as the rudiments of grammar. He was then placed under a private tutor, and prepared to enter King's College, now called Columbia College, in the city of New York. He was very studious, moral, and correct, and graduated with the highest honors of his class. He had an impediment in his speech, which rendered his articulation indistinct, and he read with such rapidity that it was difficult to understand his reading. His pronunciation of the letter L made him ridiculous. But he soon overcome all these difficulties by a determined effort to correct his pronunciation and rapid reading.

Lindlay Murray, the great grammarian, was his fellow-student for two years in King's College, and speaks of him in the following language: "His talents and virtues gave, at that period, pleasing indications of future eminence. He was remarkable for strong reasoning powers, comprehensive views, indefatigable application, and uncommon firmness of mind. With these

qualifications, added to a just taste in literature, and ample stores of learning and knowledge, he was happily prepared to enter on that career of public virtue, by which he was afterwards honorably distinguished and made instrumental in promoting the good of his country."

Whilst in College Mr. Jay determined to read law, and paid particular attention to those branches of study which he thought would be most useful in his future profession. He entered the office of Benjamin Kissman, an eminent lawyer of New York, as a student, soon after he graduated, and was admitted to the Bar in 1768. He had an extensive and profitable practice till the Revolutionary struggle commenced. Like a prudent man he remained single until he had made for himself a high reputation as a man of learning, talents and sterling character. His prudence likewise dictated that he should make a competent fortune before he took upon himself the responsibility of a family. This dictation of prudence young men sometimes neglect and thereby involve themselves in poverty and wretchedness all their lives. Moreover, after having established his character for honor, virtue, talents and industry, he is more likely to be successful in his marriage. This was the case with John Jay. In his thirtieth year he married Miss Sarah Livingston, the accomplished daughter of Governor William Livingston of New Jersey. This was in 1774, just as the political horizon was darkened by the approaching storm of the Revolution. His bright prospects at the Bar were given up and he espoused the cause of his country with an ardor and disinterestedness surpassed by none of the patriots of that great era.

New York, now the Empire State of the Federal Union was, at the commencement of the American Revolution, inferior to many of her sister colonies in wealth and population. But more than that, there was a stronger and more formidable Tory element in that colony than any other; and the patriots, Livingston,

Clinton, Hamilton, Jay, Schuyler and others had to contend with and overcome this formidable opposition to independence and liberty. The news of the Boston Port Bill roused these patriots to a sense of their danger, and a public meeting was called on the 1st day of May, 1774, and a committee of fifty was appointed to correspond with the other colonies, and have concert of action in resisting the action of the British Government. John Jay was a member of this committee, and to him was assigned the duty of writing and answering letters received. He was also elected a delegate from the city of New York to the first Congress which assembled in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774.

It is said, in the life of John Jay, that he was the youngest member of Congress. This, however, is a mistake. Edward Rutledge and Thomas Lynch, the delegates from South Carolina, were both four years younger than Mr. Jay, and the youngest members of the Congress. The "Address to the People of Great Britain" was written by John Jay, which Mr. Jefferson pronounced, without knowing the writer, "a production of the finest pen in America." The great Earl of Chatham said it was equal to any production of Greece or Rome. Congress, no doubt, appreciated it very highly, for Mr. Jay was afterwards appointed to write an "Address to the People of Canada," and "The Address from Congress to their Constituents." He also wrote the appeal of the Convention of New York to their constituents, which Congress recommended to the serious perusal of the people of the United States and ordered to be printed in German at their expense.

All these addresses have been highly praised by subsequent ages, and in a sketch of his life in the National Portrait Gallery, the following beautiful compliment is paid them: "It is impossible to read these addresses without being reminded of the wells of classic learning which supplied the rushing current of his thoughts with a style and language of never failing vigor and attrac-

tive beauty. It would scarcely be extravagant to say they united the eloquence of Cicero with the pious patriotism of Maccabeus; it is certain that they prove their author to have been deeply imbued with the spirit of the ancient patriots, and not less those of Palestine than of Greece and Rome."

After the adjournment of Congress Mr. Jay was appointed by the citizens of New York a member of a committee which exercised, in the absence of all legislative authority, dictatorial powers in organizing and disciplining the militia. When the second Congress assembled May 10, 1775, although the battle of Lexington had been fought, still there were many members and a great many citizens who were still unwilling to throw off their allegiance to King George the Third. They still hoped for a reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country. In order to show how futile this hope was, and to unite all parties in favor of Independence, Mr. Jay advocated another Petition to the King, and carried it against a strong opposition. It was fruitless as he knew it would be, but it reconciled all patriots to the Declaration of Independence. This showed his wisdom and prudence as well as his patriotism.

In April, 1776, Mr. Jay was elected a member of the New York Convention, and had to leave Congress to attend on that body by command of the Convention, which elected him to Congress. This deprived him of the honor of having his signature affixed to the Declaration of Independence. When this Declaration reached the New York Convention, assembled at White Plains, on the 9th of July, Mr. Jay *instantly* moved a resolution that the reasons assigned by the Continental Congress for declaring the United Colonies free and independent States were cogent and conclusive, and that at the risk of their lives and fortunes they would join the other Colonies in supporting it. He was despatched to Connecticut to procure cannon, with unlimited power to impress carriages, wagons, sloops, teams, etc. In a

short time he had twenty cannon delivered at West Point.

The Constitution of New York, adopted in 1777, was drawn by Mr. Jay, and immediately after it went into operation he was elected Chief Justice of the State. This deprived him of sitting in Congress, unless on some special occasion. The controversy between the people of Vermont and the State of New York gave this special occasion, and the Chief Justice was ordered to resume his seat in Congress December 7, 1778, and he was immediately elected the President of that body on the resignation of Henry Laurens, who was appointed Minister to Holland. Mr. Jay was appointed Minister to Spain September 27, 1779. He arrived at Cadiz in January, 1780, after serious disasters at sea. He found that Spain was not disposed to render any assistance to the United States, unless they would guarantee the possession of Florida to Spain and the exclusive right of navigating the Mississippi River. These terms Mr. Jay rejected. Soon afterwards he learned that Congress had instructed him to abandon the free navigation of the Mississippi below the southern boundary of the United States. This unwise and suicidal act of Congress was no doubt brought about by the urgent importunities of South Carolina, Georgia, and North Carolina. These States had been overrun by the British army and reconquered. They were afraid that without the assistance of the Spanish navy their independence would not be acknowledged. Mr. Madison had already proposed that a treaty *uti passidetis* should be made with Great Britain which would leave these States in the possession of the British crown. They were unwilling to give up the free navigation of the Mississippi to secure their independence. It seems that Mr. Madison and the Virginia delegation preferred the free navigation of the Mississippi to the independence of the Colonies and Georgia. Virginia at that time owned the lands now composing the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, and

Indiana. This country would be valueless without the navigation of the river. Franklin said it was like ceding to a neighbor his street door! Fortunately, this proposition was not accepted by Spain with the conditions annexed, and was immediately withdrawn by Mr. Jay.

During Mr. Jay's residence at Madrid he did procure funds for his government, and, finally, an alliance with Spain without anything being said about Florida or the navigation of the Mississippi. In the summer of 1782 he was appointed one of the Commissioners to treat for peace and independence with Great Britain. Preliminary articles of a treaty were entered into between Great Britain and the United States in November, 1782, but not to take effect till France acceded to them. This was done January 20, 1783. In September, 1783, the final treaty was signed by all of the Commissioners and ratified by Congress January 14, 1784.

Mr. Jay's health having been greatly impaired, he was advised by his physician to visit Bath, in England, and he did so. Whilst in England his old friend and neighbor, whom he had defended in Congress, Silas Deane, former American Minister to France, came up to him and offered his hand. Mr. Jay told him that he could not receive the hand of one who had dishonored his hand by extending it to Benedict Arnold. Deane had taken offence at the treatment of Congress, abused the Government, and became the associate in England of Benedict Arnold. Under these circumstances, what firmness and honor and patriotism did Mr. Jay manifest in meeting a former friend and neighbor in a strange land and refusing to shake hands with him after an absence of many years, because that former friend and neighbor had turned against his country and was the associate of one of her arch traitors! This single act of Mr. Jay proves what a noble character he was.

Mr. Jay returned to the United States in July, 1784, and learned that he had been elected by Congress Secre-

tary of Foreign Affairs, which arduous and most responsible position he continued to occupy for four years, and until the Federal Government was organized by the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States. He was not a member of the Federal Convention, but he did all in his power to have the Constitution adopted. He commenced writing with Hamilton and Madison the essays known as the *Federalist*. In consequence of a wound received in defending some young physicians from the assaults of a mob in New York, he had to cease writing from the sixth to the sixty-fourth number. He was a member of the New York Convention called to consider the adoption of the Federal Constitution. When it convened, there were forty-six members opposed and eleven in favor of its adoption. And yet through the influence and reasoning of Mr. Jay the Constitution was adopted by a majority of three votes.

When the Federal Government was organized, John Jay was appointed by President Washington the first Chief Justice of the United States. He continued to discharge the duties of this high office with great learning and distinguished ability for five years, when he was appointed by Washington Envoy Extraordinary to Great Britain to negotiate a treaty of commerce and settle the disputes between the two governments. His treaty, known as Jay's Treaty, produced a terrible excitement all over the United States, and but for the great and overpowering popularity of Washington no one knows what civil strife might have occurred, or the consequences of a war with England. I remember hearing when a boy an anecdote of two gentlemen who were discussing the merits of this treaty. One said to the other, who was denouncing the treaty in the strongest terms, "Have you ever read Jay's Treaty?" "No," said the other, "and damn a man who would read it!"

On Mr. Jay's return from England, in 1795, he found himself elected Governor of New York, and public duty,

which had always been his polar star, made him resign the office of Chief Justice of the United States and accept that of Governor of New York. He served six years as Governor, and refused to be re-elected. He was then nominated by President Adams Chief Justice of the United States, which he declined on the ground "that his duty did not require him to accept it." Mr. Jay was then only fifty-six years old. Neither ambition nor the love of distinction had ever induced him to accept any office. When he thought public duty required him to discharge the duties of an office, he did so, no matter how humble it might be. But when his sense of public duty did not require it, he refused every and all public office, no matter how high and exalted they were. He loved his country, but not official station, or that distinction so dear to an ambitious man. Have we such a man now living? I hope so, but I fear they are few. In the "times that tried men's souls" there were many. Our late unfortunate civil war did produce such a man in Robert E. Lee. He was opposed to the war, and deeply regretted it, and no doubt anticipated the unhappy result. But duty required him to give up honors and distinctions that awaited him under the Federal Government, and share with his old mother Virginia and her Southern sisters their ruin and destruction.

Mr. Jay lived thirty years after he retired from public life, and died May 17, 1829, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He had served his country well and faithfully whilst that country required his services. When others could serve it as well he retired to private life. In 1802 he lost his most excellent and beloved wife, a loss which such a man would feel most poignantly, and to his honor be it said he never placed another in her stead. His son, William Jay, with filial affection, and justly proud of such a parent, has given the public a memoir of his life, with selections from his correspondence and miscellaneous papers. This work "it is hoped will find a place in the library of every American who

desires to set before his children a bright example of private and public virtue." He has been compared to Aristides drawn by Plutarch; but a writer has said that whilst Aristides did many things for the interests of his country that were unjust, John Jay never did. He was a very religious man, and with truth it has been said "that the patriot and Christian may equally point to him with admiration and applause."

OLIVER ELLSWORTH.

The historian has said that Oliver Ellsworth, the third Chief Justice of the United States, was the pride of Connecticut. He was indeed, the highest type of the New England character. Great talents with great practical good sense were united in him through life. He was a Puritan in religion, and of the purest morality. Plain and simple in his manners and affable to all, with an integrity which was never suspected. Cold by nature, yet he performed every duty, public and private, with fidelity and exactness. Though he had no warm admirers, he had no enemies, and was respected by all who knew him. He was a patriot from a sense of duty more than love of country. His moral firmness was immovable. "Neither fear nor the hope of reward" could influence him in the least. He was wise and prudent, never impulsive. Distinguished for his judgment, but wanting in imagination. He did not originate any great measures as a statesman; but he enforced those he adopted with matchless skill and argument. He was not a brilliant orator, distinguished for eloquence; but an able scholar and fluent speaker. It is said that although he spoke with great care, he wrote with difficulty. No elaborate production ever came from his pen. His learning was not extensive or profound, but his good sense supplied all deficiencies. Like a true Yankee, he thought more of New England than all the rest of the world, and loved Connecticut more than all the rest of New England.

The family of Chief Justice Ellsworth came from a little hamlet on a small stream, near Cambridge, in England, called Ellsworth. When the Chief Justice visited

this place in eighteen-hundred and one or two, he found a great many of the name still there. In the days of the Saxons this hamlet was called "Eelsworth," which in the Saxon language is a "place for eels," that is, a place where eels are caught in great abundance. In the course of time this word was changed to "Ellsworth" by a mispronunciation of "Eelsworth." Some of the citizens of the hamlet were called Eelsworth or Ellsworth. They emigrated to America in 1650 and settled in Connecticut.

It is a remarkable fact that so many of the great men of America have sprung from the middle class of society; seldom from the lowest class, and not often from the highest. Such were John Adams, the son of a small farmer, Benjamin Franklin, the son of a well-to-do tallow chandler and soap-boiler, Patrick Henry, a poor farmer's son, Alexander Hamilton, a poor orphan, and in the same class may be placed John Jay, Oliver Ellsworth, Henry Clay and hundreds of others. In the highest and wealthiest classes of society there is ease and luxury and idleness—no stimulant such as poverty gives to mental exertion and labor. In the lowest classes it requires extraordinary natural talents to overcome the disadvantages of birth, extreme poverty and want of education. The family of Chief Justice Ellsworth were of the middle class of New England farmers, not rich or distinguished, nor were they poverty-stricken and obscure. They were honest, industrious Puritans.

In the Lives of the Chief Justices of the United States Court, it is stated that Oliver Ellsworth was born April 29, 1745, at Windsor, a small town in the interior of Connecticut, of "respectable parents, inured to the pursuits of agriculture." Like Chief Justice Marshall, "his health was invigorated by the athletic exercises to which his father inured him." His boyhood was spent between going to school and working on the farm. In this way he learned the value of time, and was studious

as well as industrious. At the age of seventeen he had acquired sufficient classical education to enter Yale College, but from some cause not known, he became displeased with Yale and went to Princeton College, where he graduated in 1766. His standing in his class was respectable, though not distinguished for any great proficiency in science or literature. His mind was not precocious, but the "slow ripening of its powers betokened a deep root and long-continued harvest." It would seem from what is said in a brief memoir of his life that his Yankee character displayed itself in college, as he was "much more remarkable for his shrewdness and adroit management in all the little politics of the college, than for any uncommon proficiency in science or literature."

Two or three years after his graduation at Princeton he was admitted to the Bar in Hartford, where he commenced the practice of law. At one time he had determined to prepare himself for the ministry, and studied theology for some time, as did John Adams. But he did not, like Adams, lose confidence in his orthodoxy. He was at all times through life a most pious man and sincere believer. Love, in early life, overcame his Yankee prudence, and he made what would seem an imprudent marriage for a poor lawyer. His wife was a Miss Walcott, of a highly respectable family in Connecticut. They lived most happily together in their early poverty and had nine children, six of whom were living in 1839, "connected with the aristocracy of their native State."

On his marriage his father gave him a piece of woodland and an axe, and told him he must work for his living. He did so. With that firmness, industry, and perseverance which distinguished him through life, he went to work, clearing his land and splitting rails to fence it. When Court came he would walk down to Hartford to attend to his cases, and after Court was over he would return home to pursue his agricultural labors,

In this humble condition he was happy with his wife, and had no ambitious views. The idea of being Chief Justice of the United States, Envoy Extraordinary to France, and United States Senator, never entered his imagination. A competent living for his wife and children was all he aimed at in his profession. He did not think of achieving distinction even as an advocate till one day in Court, whilst arguing a case, he heard a stranger say: "What young man is that? *He speaks well.*" These last words made a deep impression on his mind. He thought of them as he went home, and no doubt told his wife what he had heard a stranger say. In his old age he frequently repeated the circumstance as being the turning point of his life. From that time he began to think of rising at the Bar and gaining for himself distinction in his profession. The words, "*he speaks well,*" seem to have made him first conscious of his latent powers. He soon rose to the head of the Bar and got a lucrative practice. How beneficial praise is sometimes, and how sweet at all times!

His biographer says: "With hands swollen by unaccustomed effort and painful from the wounds of thorns with which he contended, he came every morning during the sessions of the courts to Hartford, returning at night to take charge of his cattle and to sustain the imperative duties of an agriculturist." After he heard the cheering words, "*he speaks well,*" from the stranger he paid more attention to his books and less to his cattle. His hands were less swollen and pierced with thorns. His business increased so rapidly that he had to abandon his farm and move to Hartford. He received the lucrative appointment of State's Attorney, and was elected a member of the Legislature. The Revolutionary struggle came on, and he took firm ground in favor of the independence of his country. His profession was abandoned; he volunteered his services in the militia, and in 1777 he was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress. There he met Adams, Lee, Madison, Laurens,

Morris, Jay, Drayton, and others. Soon after he took his seat a resolution was introduced that "true religion and good morals are the only solid foundations of public liberty and happiness;" "that the States do suppress theatrical entertainments, horse-racing, gaming, etc., and that the officers of the army do discountenance all profaneness and immorality amongst the soldiers." No doubt these resolutions were introduced at his suggestion. Some of the Southern members voted against them.

Mr. Ellsworth proved himself an able and most efficient member of the old Congress. He supported with all his strength the establishment of Robert Morris's Pennsylvania Bank, which saved the Continental army from destruction.

In 1784 he was appointed Chief Justice of Connecticut, and had to enforce some very severe and rigid laws. Crimes were then punished in Connecticut, not by a beggarly fine and brief imprisonment, but by whipping on the bare back, cropping off the ears, branding with a hot iron, exposure with a halter around the neck. The following sentence was pronounced in 1785: "Moses Parker, for horse-stealing, to sit on the wooden horse for half an hour, receive fifteen stripes, pay a fine of £10, confined in the workhouse three months, and every Monday morning receive ten stripes and sit on the wooden horse." Another sentence at the same time—"Judah Benjamin, for polygamy, ten stripes, branded with letter A, and wear a halter about his neck as long as he stays in the State." Bastardy was punished by whipping on the bare back at the tail of a cart; witchcraft with death; blaspheming or cursing the name of God, the Son, or Holy Ghost was death.

In 1787, the State of Connecticut elected Oliver Ellsworth, Roger Sherman, and William S. Johnson members of the Federal Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Ellsworth was an active and prominent member of the Convention, and

participated largely in all their debates. He was a thorough Democrat and States' Rights man, and opposed to Madison in almost everything. He advocated the equal representation of the States in both Houses of Congress, and the election of Representatives every year. It was mainly owing to his influence and pertinacity in debate that the small and large States were equally represented in the Senate. It is remarkable that he and Mr. Madison should have exchanged positions with each other after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Ellsworth became a thorough Federalist and supported all the measures of Washington's and Adams's administration, whilst Madison became the champion of States' Rights and Democracy. There are very few public men who do not change their opinions in the course of their lives.

In 1789, Ellsworth was elected one of the first United States Senators from Connecticut, and was re-elected at the expiration of his senatorial term. He was one of the ablest and most useful members of the Senate. The Judiciary Bill, organizing the Federal Courts, was drawn by him, and is a monument of his wisdom and statesmanship. It remains in force to this day, with slight changes. His letters to his wife whilst he was in the Senate are interesting and amusing. In one of them he says: "Our oldest daughter is, I trust, alternately employed between her book and her wheel." He was very fond of children, and regrets that the family in which he is boarding have no children of their own to amuse him. "But," he says, "there is a little colored girl, about the size of our youngest daughter, who peeps into my room now and then with a long story, which I cannot more than half understand."

In 1796, he was appointed by Washington Chief Justice of the United States in the place of John Rutledge, whose nomination was rejected by the Senate. He remained in this high office for four years, and until he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary with General

Davie and Mr. Murray to the Court of France. On their arrival in Paris, they found Bonaparte first Consul, and formed a treaty with him. On his return home, his wife and children had gone to the gate to meet him, and greet him with joy, love, and affection. Instead of rushing towards them, to kiss and embrace them, as a Southern gentleman would have done, he stops, says not a word till he had leaned over the fence, with uplifted hands, and offered up a prayer to God for his safe return home and to them. If anything could show a deep, religious, Puritanical feeling, this act of Ellsworth's certainly did. An ordinarily religious man would have returned his thanks after saluting his family. Without knowing his purity and sincerity of character, and his strong religious feelings and devotion to God, one would have supposed from this act that he was a Pharisee and hypocrite wishing to make a show of religion.

In the Connecticut Convention, called to consider the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and of which Mr. Ellsworth was the leading member, he again shows his Yankee character by advocating the ratification of the Constitution on the ground of economy. A view which I do not remember to have seen urged by any other member of any other State Convention.

"The structure of his mind," says his memoir, "was lofty and well balanced. His eloquence rested on the basis of his reasoning power. It aimed not to dazzle, but to convince." "In social life," it is added, "he was truly estimable; just in his dealings, frank and sociable in his disposition, kind and obliging in his temper, he was respected and beloved by his neighbors and acquaintances. His religious sentiments were strong and earnest." It is said on his monument: "His great talents, under the guidance of inflexible integrity, consummate wisdom, and enlightened zeal, placed him among the first of the illustrious statesmen who achieved the independence and established the Constitution of the American Republic." He died November 26, 1807.

WILLIAM SMITH.

When the present Federal government was first organized in 1789, there were many active, able and talented members of Congress who are now very little known. William Smith, of South Carolina, was one of those members. He represented the District of Charleston from 1789 to 1797, in the House of Representatives, and there were few members of that body who took a more active and prominent part in the debates. In 1797 Mr. Smith was appointed by President Adams, Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Lisbon.

The family of William Smith were amongst the first settlers in Carolina. Thomas Smith, his ancestor, was made a Landgrave, and appointed Governor of the Province under the Proprietary government in 1694, twenty-four years after the first settlement made in the Province. Governor Archdale, in his "new description of that fertile and pleasant Province of Carolina," printed in London in 1787, says "Mr. Smith was a wise, sober, well-living man." He was a gentleman of large property before he was made a Landgrave. There was at the time Landgrave Smith was appointed Governor such confusion and dissension in Carolina, "that he grew so uneasy in the government," says Governor Archdale, "by reason he could not satisfy people in their demands, that he wrote over A. D. 1694, it was impossible to settle the country, except a Proprietary himself was sent thither with full power to hear their grievances." In consequence of this letter of Governor Smith, Mr. Archdale, one of the Proprietors, was made Governor and sent over to Carolina by the Proprietors.

Mr. William Smith, who was the second or third in descent from Governor Smith, was born in Charleston in 1758, and at the age of twelve years was sent to England in 1770, to be educated as was the custom with all wealthy planters in Carolina. In 1774 he was sent to Genoa to pursue his studies and he remained there till 1778. He then came to Paris where he remained some months with Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams and Arthur Lee. Being now about twenty-one years old, he was anxious to return to his native State, and went to England in January, 1779, to get funds from his guardian there for this purpose. He was disappointed in consequence of the financial embarrassments of the country, and had to remain in England till 1783. During this time he devoted himself to the study of law but could not be admitted to the Bar in consequence of his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the King. In 1782 he made an attempt to return to the United States, went to Ostend, and there set sail for America. But the vessel was wrecked on the coast of England, and he had to abandon his voyage.

When Mr. Smith arrived in Charleston the British had evacuated the city, and he was received most kindly by the citizens after an absence of thirteen years. He was in a very short time elected a member of the Legislature from Charleston, and appointed one of the Governor's Council. After the expiration of his legislative term, he was re-elected and again appointed a member of the Governor's Council. In 1788 he was elected a member of the first Congress under the Federal Constitution, and his seat was contested by Dr. Ramsay, the historian, on the ground that he had not been in the United States seven years previous to his election as required by the Federal Constitution. This was the first contested Congressional election that ever came before the House of Representatives. It was referred to a committee who reported that "after full and mature consideration the said William Smith had been a citizen of the United

States seven years before his election." This report was confirmed by the House, and only one member, Jonathan Grout, voted in the negative.

Before the vote was taken in the House of Representatives Mr. Smith made a very manly and able speech in which he gave a full and fair account of his absence and the reasons which prevented his return. He argued, too, with much ability, the constitutional question involved in this contested election. Mr. Madison, Governor Jackson of Georgia, Mr. William Tudor Tucker of South Carolina, and Mr. Lee of Virginia participated in the debate, which was a very interesting one on the subject of allegiance, citizenship, absence, etc. Dr. Ramsay contended in his memorial that a person could not become a citizen of a country till he had resided in it, and that no one could become a citizen till he was of age to choose his country. Mr. Smith said that as soon as he heard of the American Declaration of Independence, he considered himself a citizen of the United States. "His property was in Carolina, his money in the treasury assisting to carry on the war. The Declaration of Independence affected him as much, though at Geneva, as it did those in Carolina; his happiness, that of his dearest connections, his property, were deeply interested in it; his fate was so closely connected with that of Carolina that any revolution in Carolina was a revolution to him."

The first speech made by Mr. Smith in Congress was in opposition to the duty of six cents a bushel on salt. He said "such a duty would be attended with a great deal of dissatisfaction, and in proportion to that dissatisfaction will be the danger of having your laws contemned, opposed or neglected in the execution. It is well known that however small the duty, it will afford the seller a pretext to extort a much greater sum from the consumer. Another observation. It is believed that the inhabitants of the interior part of South Carolina are opposed to the new government; it will be a

melancholy circumstance to entangle ourselves at this time among the shoals of discontent; yet no stronger impulse could be given for opposition than the proposed tax; conceiving it in this light, he was against the measure."

The first part of this short extract shows the wisdom of a statesman and the feelings of a patriot. All legislation should avoid, as much as possible, giving dissatisfaction to the people. It would have been well if Congress had been governed by this principle in their legislation on the subject of manufacturing spirituous liquors in modern times. A moderate tax on each still in proportion to its capacity would have yielded the government a great deal more than is collected at present by this excise law, and been satisfactory to the people. The law now is a monopoly in favor of large capitalists, and entirely excludes the poorer classes of the community. And the enforcement of the law has been a cruel oppression, and it is to be hoped that when the Democratic party gets possession of the Federal Government this odious law will be repealed or modified.

It is true, as stated by Mr. Smith, that the interior, or up-country, was opposed to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The proposition in the State Legislature to call a convention for the purpose of considering the adoption of the Constitution, passed only by a majority of one! There were 76 ayes, and 75 noes. The convention adopted the Constitution by a vote of 149 to 73. General Sumter, General Hampton, General Butler, Judge Burke, Judge Pendleton and Colonel Thomas Taylor, representing the interior of the State, voted against the ratification. Charleston was unanimous, and cast 31 votes for the Constitution; and the parishes, generally, were in favor of it.

Within a few days after the first Congress assembled, Mr. Parker, of Virginia, moved to levy a tax of ten dollars on each slave imported into the United States.

This motion was advocated by both Madison and Bland of Virginia, and opposed by Mr. Smith, Judge Burke and Mr. Tucker of South Carolina, together with Governor Jackson of Georgia and Rodger Sherman of Connecticut. It is remarkable that Virginia, the largest slave-holding State in the Union at that time, should have been the first to commence the slavery agitation, and she continued it for a number of years, and then fought bravely against it for four years, and sacrificed thousands of her best citizens and millions of her property to put it down.

Early in the first Congress the question arose as to the constitutional power of the President to dismiss a member of his cabinet. Mr. Smith insisted that he had no such power, and the only way to get rid of such an officer was by impeachment. He was appointed by the President and Senate, and it required the appointing power to remove him. There is no doubt that this is the proper construction of the Federal Constitution, and had any one but General Washington been President, such would have been the construction of Congress.

In regulating the compensation of the Vice-President it was suggested that he should only receive the pay of a senator. Mr. Smith argued that he was not a member of the Senate, but a high officer of the government, appointed by the Constitution to preside over the Senate, and should have a salary suited to the dignity of his office. He did not think five thousand dollars too much for the salary of the second officer of the government. There was considerable discussion on the salary of the President. Eighteen thousand, twenty thousand, twenty-five thousand and thirty thousand dollars was proposed as his salary. Mr. Smith said nothing on this question. The Southern members were for a larger salary than the Northern members. Twenty-five thousand dollars was finally adopted. But President Washington told Congress in his inaugural address that whilst in command of the American army he had

only received his necessary expenses, and that this was all that he would take whilst President.

Mr. Tucker, of South Carolina, moved as an amendment to the Constitution that the people should have the right to instruct their representatives. This motion Mr. Smith opposed, and said that it would render a numerous representation urged by members wholly unnecessary, as one member from a State could read the instructions. Instead of a representative government we should have a pure democracy. It would change entirely the character of the Federal Government. How an enlightened statesman could advocate such a doctrine is a little remarkable. It would destroy the propriety of all discussion in a legislative assembly, and the member might be instructed to vote against the constitution which he had sworn to support.

On the 5th of September, 1789, it was proposed in Congress to authorize the President to appoint commissioners to purchase, on the east bank of the Susquehanna, an eligible situation for the permanent seat of Government of the United States. Mr. Smith objected to the resolution because it did not require "a cessation of territory as well as jurisdiction, which he conceived the declaration in the Constitution required." Mr. Lee, of Virginia, moved to substitute the north bank of the Potomac for the east bank of the Susquehanna. This was rejected by 29 noes to 21 ayes. Afterwards a compromise was agreed on by which the seat of Government was to be moved to Philadelphia for ten years, and then to be permanently established on the banks of the Potomac.

At the second session of the first Congress Mr. Smith was appointed chairman of a committee to draw up an address to the President on his annual message. This address was most appropriately drawn by Mr. Smith and adopted by the House of Representatives. In it he said: "We concur with you in the sentiment that agriculture, commerce and manufactures are entitled to

legislative protection, and that the promotion of science and literature will contribute to the security of a free government." This practice of returning an address to the message of the President, copied from the English Parliament, has been very properly abandoned by Congress.

On the subject of adopting a Rule of Naturalization, Mr. Smith made the following judicious remarks: "He thought some restraints proper, and that they would tend to raise the government in the opinion of good men, who are desirous of immigrating; as for the privilege of electing or being elected, he conceived a man ought to be some time in the country before he could pretend to exercise it. What could he know of the government the moment he landed? Little or nothing. How then could he ascertain who was a proper person to legislate or judge of the laws? Certainly gentlemen would not pretend to bestow a privilege upon a man which he is incapable of using?" It would have been well for Congress after our late civil war to have considered the wisdom of these remarks when they bestowed the right of suffrage on four millions of ignorant freedmen, who had just been emancipated from slavery, and belonged to an inferior race. The learned and highly cultivated German, Englishman or Frenchman, has to remain in the United States five years before he is allowed to vote; but the stupid, ignorant African slave was permitted to vote and hold office as soon as he was emancipated. The foreigner too, is required to produce a certificate of good character; but no such requisition was made of the freedman.

Early in the second session of the first Congress the Quakers of Pennsylvania and New York presented a memorial to Congress against the continuance of the African slave trade. This memorial excited a long discussion and some angry feelings on the part of the Southern members. Mr. Smith spoke against the consideration of the memorial and said it prayed for an

object which the Constitution had guaranteed should not be granted for twenty-one years. Why then should the House refer the memorial to a committee? Again we find Madison, Parker and other Virginian members of Congress taking sides with the Quakers on the slavery question. Governor Jackson, of Georgia, was a bold, fearless, active and talented member of the House and spoke his mind freely on all occasions. He was a true Southern man, and a *preux chevalier*, as well as an able and patriotic statesman. He said: "I would beg to ask those then, who are desirous of freeing the negroes, if they have funds sufficient to pay for them? If they have they may come forward on that business with some propriety; but if they have not, they should keep themselves quiet and not interfere with a business in which they are not interested."

The Constitution of the United States makes it the duty of Congress to designate which officer of the government shall act as President in case of the death of both the President and Vice President. The designation of this officer produced a long discussion in the second session of the first Congress, and was finally postponed. Mr. Smith was in favor of declaring the Secretary of State as the proper officer, being more closely connected with the President, and better acquainted with the duties of the Executive. The Chief Justice was preferred by some, and the President of the Senate *pro tem.*, by others. One or two members took the ground that the President *pro tem.* of the Senate was not an officer of the government, but a State Senator.

The charter of the Bank of the United States in 1791, was discussed eight or ten days in the House of Representatives with uncommon ability. Mr. Smith made a speech in favor of the Bank, and was the only member from South Carolina who voted for the charter. The Southern members generally voted against it. The vote was 39 to 20. Mr. Madison made the great argument against the Bank on Constitutional grounds, and

strange to say, he renewed its charter whilst President of the United States. Washington had great doubts about its constitutionality and got Madison to write a message for him vetoing the Bill of incorporation. But he afterwards changed his mind and signed the bill.

In all the debates of the House Mr. Smith took an active part from 1786 to 1797. He made speeches on the reduction of the army, on emblems of American coins, defeat of St. Clair, claims of invalid pensioners, mode of examining votes for President, the official conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury, on the commerce of the United States, on sequestering British debts, continuing the embargo duties on tobacco and refined sugar, on President's speech, on thanks to General Wayne, on damages of Pennsylvania insurgents, on renunciation of title for citizenship, on reduction of salaries, on the right to Indian lands within a State, on the Randall bribery, on the British treaty, on the admission of Tennessee, on the relief of sufferers by fire at Savannah, on kidnapping negroes, on liability of the United States to a State for war expenses, on petition of manumitted slaves, increase of duties, on liberation of Lafayette, on expatriation, tax on lawyers, and many, very many other questions.

In the latter part of his life Mr. Smith added to his given name that of his mother's family, *Laughton*, to distinguish him from other William Smiths in South Carolina, and he is now remembered as William Laughton Smith. He was twice married, first to Miss Izard and secondly to Miss Wragg. By each of these marriages he had a son and daughter. The son of his first marriage died early in life, and his daughter married the Danish Consul at Philadelphia, Mr. Petersen, and was residing in Denmark at the commencement of our civil war. His son, William Wragg Smith, by his second marriage, died a few years since, and was a gentleman of talents and literary taste. His daughter, Mrs. Thomas O. Lownds, is still living, and inherits her father's love of literature. She was only four years old

at the death of her father, and her brother was only two years old. William Laughton Smith died when he was forty-four years old, cut off in the prime of his life and usefulness. Had he lived he would have risen higher in public favor and been more distinguished as a statesman. The motto on his coat of arms which is before me was "*Fideem Genusque Serraho.*"

HENRY LAURENS.

The first permanent settlement in South Carolina was in 1670. One hundred years previously, the French had made a settlement on the Island of St. Helena, under the auspices of Admiral Caligney, who sought in Carolina an asylum for the oppressed Protestants of France. This little colony was captured by the Spaniards, who hung the prisoners and left a label stating that they were not executed as Frenchmen, but as heretics. The French returned and re-captured the fort. They then hung all the Spaniards, and stated that they were not executed as Catholics but as murderers and robbers. The settlement was abandoned by the French.

Governor Sayle landed at Port Royal with a few followers in 1670, and the next year becoming dissatisfied with the place, moved to the western banks of the Ashley River, and there laid the foundation of "old Charlestown." This situation did not please the settlers, and they removed a second time to "Oyster Point" and there commenced the present city of Charleston. Fifteen or twenty years after the planting of this English colony in South Carolina, there was a large emigration from France of Huguenots who sought religious liberty in the new world, and landed in Charleston. Amongst them were many ancestors of the most distinguished families of South Carolina, viz.: the Hegers, Gaillards, Marions, Laurens, Legares, Mazycks, Manigaults, Prioleaus, Postells, Porchers, Simons, Ravenels, Trezevants, etc. They settled mostly on the Santee River, and were looked upon with jealousy by the English. For some years they were not allowed to vote or sit in the Colonial Legislature.

The family of Henry Laurens's ancestors were amongst those French refugees above named. They did not go to the Santee but remained in Charleston, as did many others who were artisans and traders. It is stated in Ramsay's History of South Carolina, that they first settled in New York. The climate of South Carolina was thought to be more desirable and more like that of the home from which they had been exiled. Nothing further is known of the Laurens family. Dr. Ramsay has given a sketch of Henry Laurens and also of his gallant son John Laurens, in his History of South Carolina, but says not one word of Henry's father. Inasmuch as Dr. Ramsay married a daughter of Henry Laurens he could have given some account of his parents.

Henry Laurens was born in 1724 in the city of Charleston. He was destined to be a merchant, and his education was completed at private schools. Early in life he was placed in the counting-house of Thomas Smith, a merchant of Charleston, and then under the superintendence of Mr. Crahatt, a merchant of London, who had done business in Charleston. Under these gentlemen he learned to be a merchant. He was remarkable through life for order, system and method, which were taught him by these merchants. When he returned from London he entered into business with an eminent merchant of Charleston, and by his attention to business, practical good sense, punctuality, caution and wisdom, he accumulated a very large fortune. He worked hard himself and made every one else about him work also. Like Mr. Jefferson, who said the sun never caught him in bed summer or winter, Laurens was an early riser. It is said he required less sleep than most persons, and transacted most of his mercantile business after night. He was a model merchant for the young business men of the city to study and imitate.

His knowledge of human nature was said to be perfect, and he was able to estimate every man who dealt with him at his par value. He did a large credit busi-

ness but made no bad debts. At the expiration of his partnership, which had continued twenty-three years, and embraced transactions amounting to many millions of dollars, he offered to take all the debts due the firm as cash at a discount of five per cent. His style of writing was very superior, and he always expressed himself in strong and forcible language, which would never admit of any doubt as to his meaning. His conversational powers were very great, and always interesting and adapted to the company in which he was, whether young or old, grave or gay, men of pleasure or men of business.

In the character of Henry Laurens there was a great deal of the old Roman. His love of justice was supreme, and he was bold, fearless and disinterested through a long and eminently useful life. He was devoted to the cause of his country, and nothing could swerve him from her interest. Having had the misfortune to lose his wife in 1771, who was the sister of Chief Justice Rutledge, he carried his two sons to Europe to be educated, and whilst there he joined in a petition of the Americans in London addressed to the British Ministry against the Boston Port Bill. He did all he could to check the arbitrary measures of Great Britain towards the Colonies and all in vain. Becoming satisfied it was the purpose of the English government to force the colonies into submission, he returned home in 1774, and so proclaimed to his friends in Charleston. The people had great confidence in his judgment, and began accordingly to make preparations to defend themselves. His leaving England at this period and coming to share the fate of his country endeared him to his fellow-citizens, and they appointed him President of the Committee of Safety, which exercised all power in the State, from the suspension of the Royal government to the formation of a State government.

In 1776, when the Constitution of the State was adopted and a regular government organized under it,

Henry Laurens was elected a delegate to the old Continental Congress. His talents, worth and abilities were soon discovered and appreciated by that noble band of patriots, and he was elected President of the Congress. Having been the first and most successful of merchants, he was now ranked among the most eminent of statesmen and patriots. His correspondence whilst President of Congress fills two large folio volumes—still in manuscript in the archives of the Federal Government.

When Mr. Laurens left England for the purpose of returning to South Carolina, he wrote his friend, Mr. Oswald, who was afterwards one of the commissioners on the part of Great Britain to treat for the independence of the United States, as follows: "I shall never forget your friendly attention to my interest; but I dare not return. Your ministers are deaf to information, and seem bent on provoking an unnecessary contest. I think I have acted the part of a faithful subject. I now go, resolved still to labor for peace; at the same time determined in the last event to stand or fall with my country." He assured his friends in England that the colonies would not submit to the arbitrary, oppressive and unconstitutional exactions of the British Parliament.

In 1778 Mr. Laurens resigned his seat in Congress and was appointed Minister to Holland. He was captured by a British vessel on his way to Holland. He threw his papers overboard, but they were recovered by a sailor, and produced a declaration of war on the part of England against Holland. Laurens was committed a prisoner to the Tower of London, charged with high treason as a British subject. He was closely confined and not allowed to see any of his friends. The use of pen, ink and paper was denied him. Congress offered to exchange General Burgoyne for him, but the proposition was rejected. He remained in prison fifteen months, and until the surrender of Lord Cornwallis.

He was fifty-six years old, and his imprisonment had greatly impaired his health. At length he was admitted to bail, after they had tried every means of seducing him from his allegiance to his country. His reply was: "I will never subscribe to my own infamy and the dishonor of my children." He was told that Charleston had surrendered, and that the large landed estate would be confiscated. He replied, "None of these things move me."

In 1781 his son, John Laurens, "the Bayard of the South," was in France as the special minister of Congress. He was requested to write his son to withdraw from France and he would be released. He replied: "My son is of age and has a will of his own. If I should write him in the terms you request it would have no effect. I know him to be a man of honor. He loves me dearly and would lay down his life to save mine; but I am sure he would not sacrifice his honor to save my life, and I applaud him for it." Whilst in prison Mr. Laurens was called upon to pay his wardens for attending on him. He said: "I will not pay the wardens, whom I never employed, and whose attendance I shall be glad to dispense with."

When the time for his appearance at court drew near he was informed by Lord Shelburne that he was discharged. He replied "that he durst not accept himself as a gift; and as Congress had once offered Lieutenant General Burgoyne for him, he had no doubt of their now giving Lieutenant General Earl Cornwallis for the same purpose." He had been appointed by Congress one of the Commissioners to treat for peace and the independence of the United States. Lord Shelburne wished to have him go to Paris in subserviency to the British government. When the recognizance was read to him for his bail, the words "our Sovereign Lord the King" were repudiated by him. He said promptly, in open court, "*Not my sovereign.*"

Whilst a prisoner in the Tower of London he had the pleasure of hearing that the sword of Lord Cornwallis

was surrendered to his son, John Laurens, who was appointed by Washington to receive the same. He went to Paris after his release, and there, with Dr. Franklin, John Adams and John Jay, signed the treaty of peace with the commissioners of France and England. He immediately returned to Carolina, and all honors were tendered him. The Legislature proposed to elect him Governor, which he declined, and he also declined a seat in Congress. Without his knowledge he was elected a member of the State Convention to consider the adoption of the Federal Constitution, but he refused to take his seat in the Convention. His long confinement in prison had impaired his health; and the death of his gallant and distinguished son, John Laurens, had broken his spirits, and he ceased to take any active part in public affairs.

There was something charming, glorious and fascinating in the character of Henry Laurens's eldest son, John Laurens, "the Bayard of the South." He was killed in a little skirmish at the close of the war near Charleston, in the twenty-seventh year of his age. He had been educated in Europe, and left there at the age of nineteen to espouse the cause of his country. He volunteered his services in the Continental army, and was soon taken by Washington into his military family as one of his aids. Congress directed Washington to give him the commission of a colonel in the line, which he refused to accept, as it would be doing injustice to older officers to have himself placed over them. How disinterested! and what a high sense of honor he had! When General Charles Lee made some reflections on General Washington, John Laurens immediately challenged him and wounded him severely. Lee was asked "how Laurens had conducted himself." The old veteran replied: "I could have hugged the noble boy, he pleased me so." Honor was his idol, and to that idol he sacrificed himself in his youth by marrying a girl unworthy of him in England. He was in the battles of

Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, siege of Charleston, attack on Savannah and at Yorktown. He was as handsome and accomplished as he was brave and honorable. Had he lived, his talents and acquirements would have made him rank with the most eminent of Carolina's sons in the halls of legislation, in the council chamber, and in the courts of justice, as a statesman, lawyer and orator.

Henry Laurens himself was a true chevalier, and responded to several calls to the field of honor, and always received the fire of his antagonist without returning it. He once induced a negro man to be inoculated for the small-pox and he died. On his death-bed Mr. Laurens told him that he would give his children their freedom in consequence of his compliance with the unfortunate directions of his master. This promise Mr. Laurens faithfully executed after the death of the unfortunate man. Mr. Laurens's treatment of his slaves was highly commendable. He made them work properly, and enforced amongst them decency, order and morality; he fed and clothed well, and freely contributed to their comforts. Nor did he neglect their religious instruction. He was strictly a religious man himself—a constant attendant at church, on the Sabbath, both morning and evening, and a regular communicant.

Mr. Laurens left one son living at his death, and I think two daughters—one married Doctor Ramsay, the historian, and the other Governor Charles Pinckney, who was Minister at the Court of Madrid, and contributed largely to the formation of the Constitution of the United States in the Federal Convention. Governor Pinckney left one son, Henry Laurens Pinckney, who was a member of Congress and Speaker of the House of Representatives of South Carolina. This son, with whom I served several years in the Legislature, bore a striking likeness to his grandfather, Henry Laurens, in his face, as the grandfather is represented in his like-

nesses. Governor Robert Y. Hayne's first wife was a granddaughter of Henry Laurens and the daughter of Governor Charles Pinckney.

Mr. Laurens died in his sixty-ninth year, on December 8, 1792. He lived to see his country free and independent, the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and the wise administration of the Government for three years, under the administration of Washington as President of the Republic. Well may South Carolina be proud of Henry Laurens as one of her sons, eminent as a patriot and statesman, endowed with Roman virtue and Christian piety.

In his will he imperatively directs his son to wrap his body in twelve yards of tow cloth and burn it till it is entirely consumed, and then to collect his bones and ashes and bury them where he saw proper. This request was faithfully executed by his only surviving son, who married a Miss Rutledge, and had a large family of children.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

This distinguished statesman and patriot of the Revolution belonged to one of the oldest, most numerous and respectable families of New York and New Jersey. Their great ancestor, Richard Morris, was a distinguished leader in the armies of Oliver Cromwell, and in consequence of the restoration of Charles the Second, he came to America, and purchased an estate near Harlem, containing three or four thousand acres, about ten miles from the city of New York. This extensive domain was invested with manorial privileges by the original grant of the Governor, and called Morrisania. Richard Morris died in 1673, leaving an only son named Lewis Morris, an infant, and an orphan, his mother having died a few months before his father. His uncle, Lewis Morris, immediately came to America, and settled at Morrisania, taking charge of his nephew and his estate.

In the life of Gouverneur Morris by Jared Sparks, in three volumes, it is said that "Lewis, the nephew, was, in his early life, wild and erratic." Having displeased his uncle by some youthful extravagance or folly, he ran off to the West Indies, and there supported himself as a scrivener. He, however, soon returned again to his uncle and was received kindly. His uncle, having no children, made him his heir. He became distinguished, and was Chief Justice of New York, and a popular leader of the people in their Assembly in opposition to their Governors. He was also at one time a Judge of the Supreme Court of New Jersey and Governor of that Province. He had twelve children, four sons and eight daughters. We are not informed by Mr. Sparks who his fruitful wife was, nor the maiden name of his mother. Two of his sons,

Lewis and Robert Hunter, were distinguished. The one was Judge of Vice-Admiralty for New York, and the other Chief Justice of New Jersey, and Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania.

Lewis, the Judge of Vice-Admiralty, was the father of Gouverneur Morris, the subject of this sketch. He had four sons and four daughters. All of his sons were distinguished. His eldest, Lewis, was a signer of the Declaration of American Independence. Stoats Lang Morris, the second son, was an officer of the British army, a member of the British Parliament, and married the Duchess of Gordon. Richard, the third son, was Chief Justice of New York. Gouverneur Morris, the fourth son, was by a second marriage, which marriage displeased very much the family, and especially the elder sons. Here again we are not told who the mother of Gouverneur Morris was. The reader always wishes to know who the mother of a great man was. But she was left ample means by her husband, and applied herself most diligently to the management of her affairs and the education of her son. In his will the father directs that his son, Gouverneur Morris, "may have the best education that is to be had in England or America."

The father of Gouverneur Morris must have been an eccentric man, from an extract of his will given in Smith's History of New Jersey. He says in his will, "My desire is that nothing be mentioned about me, not so much as a line in a newspaper to tell the world I am dead." It seems that his father, the Governor of New Jersey, and grandfather of Gouverneur Morris, was also eccentric and whimsical in his will. In this last solemn document he says: "I forbid any rings or scarfs to be given at my funeral, or any man to be paid for preaching a funeral sermon over me. Those who survive me will commend or blame my conduct in life as they think fit, and I am not for paying any man for doing either; but if any man, whether churchman or dissenter, in or

not in priests' orders, is inclined to say anything on that occasion, he may, if my executors think fit, to admit him to it. I would not have mourning worn for me by any of my descendants, for I shall die in a good old age; and when the Divine Providence calls me hence, I die when I should die, and no relation of mine ought to mourn because I do so, but perhaps may mourn to pay the shopkeeper for his goods, should they comply with what I think the common folly of such an example."

Gouverneur Morris was borne at Morrisania January 31st, 1752. His father died when he was twelve years old. "When quite a child," says his biographer, "he was put to live in the family of a French teacher at New Rochelle, where he acquired the basis of the French language, which in after life he wrote and spoke with nearly as much fluency and correctness as his native tongue." He graduated at King's, now Columbia College, in the city of New York, at the age of sixteen. His graduating oration was on "Wit and Beauty," which won the applause of both grave and gay. It was a happy subject for a commencement audience, and all the elite and fashionable of the city were present to hear it. In speaking of wit, he says: "This choice gift is one of Heaven's best boons to social man, it makes the charm of an agreeable companion, it enlivens conversation, promotes innocent mirth, and banishes that sable fiend, melancholy, the restless haunter of our inmost thoughts." In regard to Beauty he says:—"The forms of beauty, as they exist in the physical and moral world, have been the chief means of civilizing the human race, and bringing man into a state of social order and happiness." A pretty good philosophical idea for a boy of sixteen.

His self-confidence, says Mr. Sparks, was one of the remarkable features of Gouverneur Morris's character through life. "No man had this power in a greater degree, nor exercised it with more skill and effect. He has often been heard to say that in his intercourse

with men he never knew the sensation of fear or inferiority, of embarrassment or awkwardness." This is a very remarkable expression to come from a well-bred and accomplished gentleman. Judge Huger knew Gouverneur Morris intimately, and I think there was a connection between their families. He has frequently said to me that he was one of the most graceful and accomplished gentlemen he ever met, although he had but one leg; and was a most interesting companion. He had lived abroad a great deal, and was a long time American Minister at Paris during the French Revolution. He had seen much of the highest and most aristocratic society of England and France. He had associated with the ablest and most learned and most talented men of Europe. That he never should have felt the sensation of fear or inferiority, of embarrassment, or awkwardness in this intercourse with the world, is what we can hardly believe. He must have been more or less than a well-bred, sensible gentleman.

Gouverneur Morris commenced the study of law with Chief Justice Smith, the historian of New York, and whilst pursuing his studies he took the degree of Master of Arts, and delivered an oration on "Love." In this oration he says most truly and most beautifully, "It is not a mere something we are unacquainted with that renders our natal soil so peculiarly agreeable, it is our friends, our relations, parents, children, laws, religion. Aided by the force of these considerations, reason impresses the love of country upon the heart of every social being. There is some secret principle within us, some innate tenderness for that spot where we first drew our breath, first saw the light, the scene of our infant joys, some gentle effusion of divinity congenial with the soul which enforces it far beyond reason."

At the commencement of the American Revolution Gouverneur Morris was a bold and fearless advocate of independence. He wrote several able articles on Finance when he was only eighteen years old. He was

a member of the New York Congress for three years immediately preceding the Declaration of Independence. The people of New York were less inclined to separate from Great Britain than those of any other province. They hung back a long time, and it was only the influence of such men as Chief Justice Jay, Alexander Hamilton, the Livingstons, Clintons and Morris that brought them up to the fighting point. Gouverneur Morris made a very long and able speech in the New York Congress in favor of immediate independence. He was on the committee which drew up the New York Constitution in 1776.

In 1777 he was elected a member of the Continental Congress. He served on several of the most important committees, and one on which the basis of a peace was reported and afterwards adopted by the English and American Commissioners.

Whilst residing in Philadelphia he was thrown from his carriage and his leg was so badly fractured that it had to be cut off. Afterwards, when in Paris, he says that the enquiry was frequently made, and once by Madame de Stael, in what battle he had lost his limb? He had to confess that it was not lost in battle. But on one occasion he was riding in his carriage on the boulevards of Paris when the *Sans Culotte* Republicans surrounded him and cried out, "Aristocrat! aristocrat!" He saw there was great danger of being torn to pieces by the mob, and he brought into requisition that self-possession of which he boasted. Thrusting his wooden leg out of the carriage he said, "You call me an aristocrat who lost his leg fighting for American liberty!" This satisfied their love of "equality and fraternity," and they huzzaed for the American citizen.

In 1780 he was chosen by Robert Morris as assistant financier for the United States, and continued in that office for three or four years. In 1787 he was elected a member of the Federal Convention by the State of Pennsylvania for the purpose of framing a new consti-

tution for the United States, and was placed on the committee which drafted the same. Mr. Madison says that instrument received its finishing touch from the pen of Gouverneur Morris. He was an important and able and active member of that body throughout its session.

The mother of Gouverneur Morris continued to reside at Morrisania during the Revolutionary war which was within the British lines after the capture of New York City. She had not seen her son for three years and became very ill. Gouverneur heard of her illness and her wish to see him. Thereupon he applied to the British commander for permission to visit his mother, which was granted. He then asked permission of the authorities in Philadelphia to go to his mother's. This produced quite an excitement, as it was well known his mother was a loyalist. The opposition to his going within the lines of the enemy became so strong that he had to abandon his contemplated visit, and said he would sacrifice the feelings of nature on the altar of his country. He did not see his mother till after the close of the war, and an absence of seven years. She died in 1767, and by her death he was entitled to ten thousand dollars to be paid out of the estate. Morrisania, the family residence, was bequeathed by his father to Stoats Lang Morris, who resided in England, and was a Brigadier-General and a member of the British Parliament. He came over to America and sold Morrisania to his brother, Gouverneur Morris.

Gouverneur Morris was a very young man when he was elected a member of the Continental Congress—not more than twenty-five years. And yet we find him placed at the head of several of the most important committees and sent on a commission in the winter of 1777 to the American army, then at Valley Forge, to inquire into its condition and make suggestions for its improvement and efficiency. He there formed the acquaintance of General Washington and spent several months with him. A mutual respect and attachment

sprung up between them, which continued throughout their lives. An interesting and important correspondence is given us, between General Washington and Mr. Morris, by the biographer of the latter. Mr. Sparks also publishes, in his life of Morris, a very confidential correspondence between Morris and General Greene. In one of his letters to the General he says, "I say if the war continues, or if it does not continue, I have no hope, no expectation that the government will acquire force; and I will go further, I have no hope that our Union can subsist except in the form of an absolute monarchy, and this does not seem to connect with the taste and temper of the people."

The above expression was made in 1781, and Judge Johnson, in his life of General Greene, adduces it to show that Gouverneur Morris was a monarchist. At that time, and for several years afterwards, there were a great many of the most distinguished and sterling patriots of the Revolution who entertained similar sentiments. Washington himself expressed his doubts as to the ability of the American people to maintain the Republic which they had established; but he said he would sacrifice his life to see the experiment fairly tried. All wished a republican form of government, and it is doing injustice to those who doubted the experiment, to charge them with being monarchists. The most ardent friends of a measure are very often doubtful of its success.

After the war was over Mr. Morris was disposed, like Henry Laurens, Francis Marion and other stern, heroic patriots, to forgive the tories and refugees, and let them come back and settle amongst us. Morris said, writing to a refugee friend, "I perfectly coincide with you in opinion, that America is the only country in the world whose social state admits of the greatest portion of happiness. Such being my sentiment, I have commiserated the fate of those who are exiled from among us. My political ideas are also far from lessening the regret, because I see no necessity for the measure. Were this

a monarchy I would subscribe to it freely, because the deposed and reigning families must each have hereditary friendships and antipathies among the people, but in a Republic it cannot be so. The metaphysical idea of the State does not so inhere in any particular body as to give room for an exercise of the dissocial feelings. We may love the country though we hate the king, but it is not in nature to hate the country, nor can we long dislike the government when that government is ourselves."

In 1788 Gouverneur Morris went to France on business connected with the firm of Robert Morris and himself. He carried letters of introduction from General Washington and others, which gave him access to the highest and most aristocratic Parisian circles. He was also acquainted with all the French officers who had served in America. It would seem from his interesting diary, that his society was courted and cherished by the nobility and royal family of France, as well as the learned and scientific. He was in Paris at the commencement of the French Revolution, and took an active part in advising with General Lafayette and other leaders of that terrible political storm. He saw the dangers ahead, and warned both sides against them. He gave most wholesome advice to his old friend, General Lafayette, which he did not take, and which produced a temporary coolness between them. He also advised with the King and Queen, the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, Talleyrand, Mirabeau, Necker, Madame de Stael, and others. He saved the life of Madame Lafayette, and, had his advice been taken, would have saved the lives of the King, Queen and royal family. He furnished money to Louis Phillippe to make his escape to America. He also placed a large sum of money at the command of Lafayette and his wife when they were imprisoned.

I will give a few extracts from his diary: "Went to Madame Chattellux, Madame de Sequer, and M. de

Paisequien arrived shortly after. In a few minutes the Duchess of Orleans, and then more company. The Duchess is affable, and handsome enough to punish the Duke for his irregularities."

"March 2, 1789.—At three the Marshal de Castries calls and takes me to dine with Monsieur and Madame Necker. In the saloon we found Madame. She seems to be a woman of sense and somewhat of the masculine in her character. A little before dinner, Monsieur enters. He has the look and manner of the counting-house, and being dressed in embroidered velvet, he contrasts strongly with his habiliments. His bow, his address say, 'I am the man.'"

"April 3d.—I go to the Louvre on an engagement with Madame de Flahaut to see the statues and paintings. She is in bed, and her brother-in-law in the room with her, so that it appears, as she says, that she has forgotten her engagement to me."

It was the custom in Paris for ladies to receive gentlemen in their bed-chambers whilst dressing.

"If Monsieur Necker is a very great man I am deceived; and yet this is a rash judgment. If he is not a laborious man, I am also deceived.

"I cannot help feeling the mortification which the poor Queen meets with, for I see only the woman; and it seems unmanly to treat a woman with unkindness."

"June 5. Go to Mr. Houdons. He has been waiting for me a long time. I stand for his statue of General Washington, being the humble employment of a manakin. This is literally taking the advice of St. Paul to be all things to all men." It is said Gouverneur Morris resembled Washington in his person. The same height, shape and bearing.

"At dinner I sit next to Monsieur Lafayette, who tells me that I injure the cause, for that my sentiments are continually quoted against the good party. I seize this opportunity to tell him that I am opposed to the

Democracy from regard to liberty. That I see they are going headlong to destruction and would fain stop them if I could."

"July 14. While sitting here a person comes and announces the taking of the Bastile, the Governor of which is beheaded, and provost Des Marchands is killed and also beheaded. They are carrying the heads in triumph through the city and dragging their naked bodies after them."

"Sept. 17. Go to Mr. Jefferson's. The Duke de Rochescault comes in from the States General, and at half past four, Lafayette, when we sit down to dinner. Jefferson at that time was American Minister to the Court of France and had his daughters with him."

"Oct. 6. Paris is all in a tumult. The Queen obliged to fly from the bed in her undress with her stockings in her hand, to the King's chamber for protection, being pursued by the Paissardees.

"I think that in my life I never saw such exuberant vanity as that of Madame de Stael upon the subject of her father. She said wisdom is very rare, and that she knows of no one who possesses it in a superlative degree excepting her father.

"Every man is dear to himself. All the world knew Mirabeau to be a rascal when Lafayette connected himself with him. Mirabeau had sworn that he would ruin Lafayette.

"The Duchess of Orleans says she is ruined and reduced from 450,000 to 200,000 livres per annum. She tells me she cannot give any good dinners, but if I will come and fast with her she will be glad to see me." Poor woman with only 200,000 livres per annum!

"April 1, 1790. Mirabeau died this day. The funeral was attended on the fourth by more than one hundred thousand persons. It is a vast tribute paid to superior talents. Vices both degrading and detestable marked this extraordinary being.

"This morning I wait on the Duchess of Orleans, and breakfast in her chamber with Madame de Chautelleux. She reads to me her letters to and from the Duke (Egalite) and tells me the history of their breach. She says what the world attributes to fondness in her was merely discretion. She hoped to bring him to a more decent and orderly behavior." This is a pretty confession for a wife to make to a stranger, and that wife the mother of Louis Phillippe, King of France.

Gouverneur Morris says the first time he saw Talleyrand, Bishop of Auteen, he took him for "a sly, cool, cunning, ambitious and malicious man."

I regret that space will not permit me to make further extracts from this most interesting diary. Whilst in Paris Mr. Morris was appointed by Washington to go to England and inquire why the treaty with the United States was not carried out. He was then appointed plenipotentiary to France in the place of Jefferson. He remained at the French Court for several years, became offensive to the savage Republicans after the murder of their king, and was recalled. He then spent several years in travelling over Europe, and returned to America after an absence of ten years. He was immediately elected to the United States Senate by the New York Legislature, and took a high and commanding position in that body. Although a Federalist, he was, like Alexander Hamilton, in favor of Jefferson's election over Aaron Burr.

In 1809, when Mr. Morris was bordering on three score years, he was married for the first time to "Miss Anne Carey Randolph, a lady accomplished in mind and person, and belonging to one of the ancient and most respectable families of Virginia. To this connection, although formed late in life, he often refers in his private correspondence as a source of continued satisfaction and happiness." In July, 1816, he wrote an intimate friend in Europe, "I lead a quiet and, more than most of my fellow-mortals, a happy life. The woman to whom I

am married. has much genius, has been well educated, and possesses, with an affectionate temper, industry and a love of order. Our little boy grows finely, and is generally admired."

There is a tradition connected with this marriage which was told me by one of Mr. Morris's relations, and is as follows: One day at Morrisania, Mr. Morris sent for a few of his relations, and told them he was going to be married. They were greatly astonished, and inquired to whom? He stepped back into another room, and led out Miss Randolph, who was at that time his housekeeper, with her sleeves rolled up, and presented her as his betrothed. But there is another tradition connected with this marriage still more remarkable.

This tradition came to the writer through Colonel William C. Preston. Miss Randolph had been traduced. She left Virginia in disgrace, and wrote Mr. Morris reminding him that she had seen him at her father's, and begged to become his housekeeper. He said to her when they met, "It will not do for you to become my housekeeper without being my wife." Thereupon he married her. A part of the same tradition is, that John Randolph of Roanoke, her relative, after visiting Mr. Morris, wrote him the whole scandal. In reply to this cruel and infamous letter, Mr. Morris wrote her unnatural relative a long withering letter, reminding him that he had once sworn to his belief of her innocence in court. Colonel Preston had seen a copy of this letter, and said it surpassed anything he had ever read for rebuke, invective and withering sarcasm.

Mr. Morris had the honor of first suggesting the great Erie canal, connecting the waters of the lakes with the Hudson River. His official and private correspondence, with his speeches in the United States Senate, are published in two volumes, and show that he was a most wise statesman, a beautiful and interesting writer, and a sterling patriot. In his person Mr. Morris was tall and well-proportioned, and of a commanding figure,

his features oval, regular, handsome and expressive, his demeanor frank and dignified.

Madame de Damos, a French lady, intimately acquainted with Mr. Morris during his residence in France, says, in her sketch of him, "I attempt to delineate the character of a man who so little resembles other men that one should hardly say anything of him, which has already been said of them. Like others, however, he has virtues, defects and talents, but their nature, their use, mixture and results, form a whole entirely different from anything I have seen. Were I called upon to distinguish him by a single trait, I should say *he is good*; it is this which gives him the first place in all honest hearts, and entitles him to their lasting admiration and gratitude."

Mr. Morris died November 6, 1816, sixty-four years old, and left a remarkable will which should put to shame many a husband. He gives his wife his whole estate of Morrisania, with all his stock, carriages, plate, furniture and twenty-six hundred dollars per annum during her life, and if she married, six hundred dollars more per annum "to defray the increased expenditures which may attend that connection." How different from other husbands. She was a young woman, had made him a good and affectionate wife, and he was disposed to provide for her handsomely, whether she remained his widow, or made some other husband happy by becoming his wife. But she never married the second time, and no doubt this very provision endeared to her the memory of her deceased husband as it should have done. This provision in his will proves what Madame de Damos said of him, he so little resembled other men."

WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON.

South Carolina has produced several sons bearing the name of Drayton, whom she has delighted to honor, and who have honored her by their talents, patriotism and statesmanship. William Drayton, LL. D., was born in 1733, and whilst South Carolina was a Province of Great Britain, he was appointed Chief Justice of Florida. During the Revolutionary war he was suspended from his high office by royal authority, no doubt on account of his sympathy for his native State and the cause in which the American Colonies were then struggling. He returned to South Carolina and was appointed successively Judge of Admiralty, Associate Justice of the State, and a Judge under the Federal Government. He had been educated for the Bar, in the Middle Temple, London. His son, William Drayton, was a distinguished lawyer, and for many years at the head of the Charleston Bar. He was successively a member of the Legislature, Mayor of the city, a Representative in Congress and President of the United States Bank. His pure honor, high-toned feelings, and great ability, have endeared his memory to every Carolinian. His son, Thomas F. Drayton, a graduate of West Point, was a Confederate General during our late civil war. John Drayton, the son of William Henry Drayton, the subject of this sketch, was Governor of the State of South Carolina, a Doctor of Laws and the author of the "Memoirs of the American Revolution," in two volumes.

The Drayton family was distinguished in Northamptonshire, England; and Thomas Drayton, a descendant of that family, came to South Carolina in 1671, with Sir John Yeoman and others, the first

settlers of the Province. His son, John Drayton, was the proprietor of "Drayton Hall," on Ashley River, near Charleston. William Henry Drayton was his son, born in September, 1742, at Drayton Hall. When he was eleven years old, he went to England to be educated, in company with Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Thomas Pinckney, the sons of Chief Justice Pinckney of South Carolina. He prosecuted his education for eight years at Westminster school in London, and then entered Oxford University where he remained three years, and was then called home by his father. He continued to prosecute his studies, however, after his return to Carolina with great industry. He made himself thoroughly acquainted with ancient and modern history and the law of nations. He studied, too, with great interest, the English Constitution and the rights of the colonies under it and their charters. His father being a gentleman of large estate, and William Henry, being his eldest son and heir under the law of primogeniture then in force in South Carolina, he did not intend to bring him up to any profession. But the activity of his mind, his talents and thirst for knowledge, made him unwilling to settle down as a quiet country gentleman. When he was twenty-two years old he married a young lady of great beauty and accomplishments and the possessor of a large fortune.

William Henry Drayton was a fine scholar and accomplished writer, and he soon began to publish political essays and pamphlets. This involved him in a political controversy with that sterling prime mover of the American Revolution in South Carolina, Christopher Gadsden. It is very likely he was, in 1769, more moderate in his views than Mr. Gadsden. He returned to England with his family, and was introduced at the British Court, and noticed by Lord Sandwich, prime minister, and others of the nobility. He was appointed by the King a privy counsellor of South Carolina, and afterwards one of the assistant judges of

the province. But these honors did not in the slightest alienate his love of liberty and devotion to the rights of his native country. The Continental Congress being about to assemble in 1774, he wrote and published a political pamphlet addressed to that body, in which "he chalked out," says Dr. Ramsay in his History of South Carolina, "the line of conduct afterwards adopted by Congress." This caused his uncle, Lieutenant-Governor Bull, to remove him from His Majesty's council, and he was soon superseded as one of the assistant judges of the province.

In 1775, when the council of safety was organized, William Henry Drayton was one of its most vigilant members, and chairman of the secret committee. He caused the provincial arsenal and powder magazines to be seized and held for the country. He also went with two or three others and took possession of the mails which had just arrived from England. In this way the patriots got in possession of much important information in regard to the intentions of the British ministry. These were bold measures on the part of Mr. Drayton, and of great service to the country.

When the Provincial Congress convened in 1775, Mr. Drayton was elected president of that body, and continued in that important station during the existence of the congress. As president, he issued an order for opposing the British navy and garrisoning Fort Johnson. He and the Rev. Mr. Tenant were appointed to visit the upper country and explain to the people the nature of the controversy between Great Britain and the colonies. This mission they performed with great success, and at Ninety-Six prevented a collision between the Whigs and Tories. The latter were assembled in great force under Colonel Fletchal.

In March, 1776, before the Declaration of American Independence, the State of South Carolina adopted a Constitution and organized a new government. Mr. Drayton was elected Chief Justice of the State, and

opened his court in Charleston with an elaborate charge to the Grand Jury on the condition of the country. This able and full charge attracted great public attention both in America and England. He declared "that George III., King of Great Britain, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant; that he has no authority over us, and we owe no obedience to him." This bold declaration was in March, 1776, four months before the Declaration of Independence. No one was more active and zealous in the cause of his country than Mr. Drayton; and perhaps no one did more to encourage and animate the timid and wavering. In order to cross the Rubicon and set England at defiance, he took command of a boat, and fired the first gun at the British vessels in the harbor of Charleston. He wished to make the issue, and leave no ground for the timid and wavering to retreat on and hope for a compromise.

In October, 1777, the Chief Justice delivered another admirable charge to the Grand Jury. In it he took occasion to boast of what South Carolina had done, by way of encouraging the people in the future not to relax in their exertions or tarnish the honor already achieved. He said, "We were the first in America who publicly denounced Lord North's conciliatory motion inadmissible. We raised the first regular forces on the continent, and for a term of three years. We first declared the cause of taking up arms. We originated the Council of Safety. We were among the first who led the way to Independence by establishing a constitutional government. We were the first who made a law authorizing the capture of British vessels without distinction. We alone have victoriously pierced through and reduced a powerful nation of Indians."

The President, John Rutledge, being about to leave the State, in December, 1777, appointed William Henry Drayton President of the State during his absence. This he was authorized to do by an act of the Provincial Congress. In 1778 Mr. Drayton was elected by the

General Assembly of South Carolina, a member of the Continental Congress; and he was a most active and useful member of that body till his death in 1779. He opposed the conciliatory bills of Parliament which had been sent to Lord Howe. He published a pamphlet on this subject "full of argument, ridicule and point," Dr. Ramsay says, in his History of South Carolina. "This is supposed to be the last offering made by his pen in favor of America. He was a statesman of great decision and energy, and one of the ablest political writers Carolina has produced."

The conduct of General Charles Lee at the battle of Monmouth came before Congress, and Mr. Drayton expressed himself in very strong terms against General Lee. He had previously in his charge to the Grand Jury commented severely on General Lee's conduct in being captured by the British in New Jersey. In consequence of this General Lee spoke to Mr. Morris and Mr. Hutson in most denouncing terms of Mr. Drayton, who reported his conversation to Drayton. He wrote General Lee if he could be satisfied that he had done him injustice—"those principles of honor which must make General Lee feel an injury, made him feel even an idea of having done an injury—and impelled him to make reparation where it was due." General Lee sent him a challenge, which Drayton refused to accept or read. He said that although duelling was sanctioned by the military, it was not by the judiciary, and as Chief Justice of South Carolina, "it would be, in the eyes of the world, a public outrage on government, society and common decency, for him to accept his *cordial* invitation to meet him armed with *pistols and sword*."

It is said of Mr. Drayton that "his manners were elegant and gentlemanly, his virtues many—his faults few. His literary attainments, acquired by good talents and an excellent education, are well known here and in Europe, where several of his political papers have been admired and read in different languages." He was,

judging from his likenesses, a very handsome man, as well as "an elegant gentleman with polished manners."

From the time Mr. Drayton was elected a member of the Continental Congress till his death, he kept a minute record of all the proceedings of Congress, and copied all their important state papers. This manuscript at his death, in Philadelphia, was considered of too secret and sacred a character to fall into the hands of his family, and by them be published to the world; and were consequently destroyed by his political friends after his death. It would seem that this was a most unwarranted act, and in character with that breach of trust committed by the poet Moore in burning Lord Byron's manuscript or memoir of his own life. His history of the American Revolution down to 1779 escaped the destruction of the others, and was published by his son, Governor Drayton, in 1821.

Chief Justice Drayton was eminent as a patriot and writer as well as a statesman. He was likewise distinguished through life for his zeal, energy and purity of honor as a public man and as a private gentleman.

CHARLES PINCKNEY.

No statesman in South Carolina ever filled as many high and important positions in the State and Federal Government as Charles Pinckney, the subject of this brief memoir. He was four times elected Governor of South Carolina. He served in both the Colonial and State Legislatures for many years. He was appointed by the Legislature to represent the State in the old Continental Congress. He was a distinguished member of the Federal Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. He was an active member of the State Convention which adopted that Constitution. The people of Charleston elected him a member of the House of Representatives in Congress. He presided over the State Convention which framed the Constitution of 1790. He was elected by the Legislature United States Senator. President Jefferson appointed him Minister to Spain, and he negotiated a treaty by which the Spanish Government released all claim which she had to the magnificent territory ceded by France to the United States. Where is the name of another statesman in South Carolina whose record is so full of honors and distinctions?

In my sketch of General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, already published, I gave some account of the Pinckney family in South Carolina and Maryland. William Pinkney, the great and accomplished statesman, lawyer and orator of Annapolis, was a branch of the South Carolina family. Thomas Pinckney, the progenitor of the family in South Carolina, emigrated from Lincolnshire, England, to Charleston, in 1687, a few years after the first settlement of South Carolina. He was a gentleman of large wealth, and built a mag-

nificent brick house in the city, which is still standing and now nearly two hundred years old. He was the father of Charles Pinckney, Chief Justice of the Colony under Royal Government, grandfather of that illustrious patriot and statesman, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and great-grandfather of Governor Charles Pinckney, the subject of my present sketch. General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Governor Charles Pinckney were second cousins. In politics they differed widely,—the one was a high-toned and honored Federalist, the other was the prince of Democracy. This difference in politics produced an alienation in their families which grew into a contempt on the part of the proud Federalist for his Democratic kinsman. The tradition is that the family escutcheon of the General was purer and brighter than that of the Governor. For high-toned honor, firmness and exalted patriotism, General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney had no superior.

In the excited and bitter contest between the Republicans and Federalists for the Presidency in 1800, Governor Charles Pinckney was active in the support of Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr against John Adams and his kinsman, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. He supported the administration of Jefferson with great zeal and ability while he was in Congress, and was rewarded for his fidelity to the great Democratic chief by an appointment of Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Madrid. Although Jefferson declared in his Inaugural Address that "*we are all Federalists, all Republicans,*" yet he took good care, as all of his successors in the Presidency have since done, to appoint none to high Federal offices except his warm political friends and supporters.

Governor Charles Pinckney was born in Charleston in 1758, and was educated for the Bar, but he soon became so much absorbed in politics that he quickly abandoned his profession. It is stated that he was elected a member of the Legislature under the Colonial Govern-

ment. If so, he could not have been twenty-one years old when he was elected. South Carolina threw off the Royal Government in 1776 and formed a State Constitution for her independent government. Charles Pinckney was born in 1758, and consequently only eighteen or nineteen years old when American independence was declared. At the fall of Charleston he was taken a prisoner and remained in captivity till the close of the war. I am not informed as to the part he took in the Revolutionary War previous to his capture by the surrender of Charleston; but there is no question that he was an active and zealous Whig, or he would not have been retained as a prisoner by the British Government. In the list of confiscated estates in South Carolina I see that of Charles Pinckney, and have always supposed that he was the father of Governor Charles Pinckney. It often occurred in that Revolutionary contest, as in all others, that fathers and sons espoused different sides. The old were timid and prudent, and the young bold and ardent, reckless of danger, and bent on glory and distinction. The old had fortunes to lose, which the young had not. But it is the duty of all, in a political revolution, to take sides with their country, right or wrong. Thousands and hundreds of thousands acted on this principle in our late civil war, North and South.

Governor Charles Pinckney married the daughter of that old Roman in character. Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress, Minister to Holland, a captive State prisoner in the Tower of London for several years, and one of the commissioners with Franklin, Adams and Lee, who formed the treaty of American Independence with Great Britain. Governor Charles Pinckney was the father of Henry Laurens Pinckney, a distinguished writer and statesman of recent times. He was also the father of Governor Robert Y. Hayne's first wife. He died in 1824, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. His last political honor was achieved over Judge Huger in 1819 for a seat in

Congress. The Judge was then a young man, and no doubt his Federalism, and the Republicanism of Governor Pinckney told in the contest.

But although Governor Charles Pinckney was the prince of democracy in his latter days, he was not so much of a democrat in his younger days. In the Federal convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, he opposed the election of members of Congress by the people, and advocated their appointment by the different State Legislatures. This was a most grievous error for a democrat, one who relied on the virtue and wisdom of the people for self-government to have committed.

Governor Charles Pinckney, as I have already said, had more high honors and distinctions cast on him than any other South Carolinian. Since his death one honor has been attached to him far and near, to which he was not entitled. It is said that his "Plan of a Federal Constitution," submitted to the convention on the 29th of May, 1787, was the model from which was framed the Constitution of the United States. This is clearly and unquestionably an error, and will appear most obviously to any one who will carefully read "the Madison Papers," giving an account of the debates in the Federal convention and Mr. Madison's comments on the same.

Governor Pinckney's "Plan of a Federal Constitution," as now published, was not the paper submitted by him to the convention on the 29th of May. It contains principles and clauses which he opposed and denounced in the convention time and again after his plan had been submitted. It is absurd to suppose that a member of the convention would oppose in debate the very important principles of government which he himself had previously submitted for the adoption of the convention. The plan now published as Governor Pinckney's was evidently copied, with slight alterations, from the report of the committee appointed to draft a

Federal Constitution. This was after the convention had been discussing for months a plan of Federal Union. There is no doubt that Governor Pinckney did submit, on the 29th of May, a form of government for the United States, but that paper is lost, and the principles it contained are unknown. Edmund Randolph of Virginia submitted, on the same day, his celebrated resolutions, fifteen in number, as to the proper organization of the Federal Government. He stated, that as Virginia had taken the lead in calling the convention together, it was proper that her representatives in the convention should submit a plan of government for the United States as a substitute for the old articles of confederation. These resolutions were taken up *seriatim* by the convention and discussed for months in committee of the whole. The plan submitted by Governor Pinckney was not alluded to in the debates. Finally the committee made a report to the convention. This report was again discussed in the convention, and at last referred, with the plan of Governor Pinckney to a committee, for the purpose of drafting a constitution.

The committee they appointed reported a constitution for the United States. This proposed constitution was again discussed, clause by clause, and altered and amended in convention. If any one will compare the published plan of a constitution by Governor Pinckney with this report of the committee, he will see at once that, with some alterations, the one was copied from the other. It is certainly not likely that, after months of discussion, the committee should have adopted the plan of government submitted by Governor Pinckney, in his own language, with slight alterations. Mr. Madison says in the third volume of "the Madison Papers," that he took no copy of Charles Pinckney's plan of government at the time it was submitted to the convention, and that the plan now published in the debates was handed the Secretary of State, and first printed in 1819. "There is," says Mr. Madison, "in the paper a similarity

in some cases, and an identity in others, with details, expressions and definitions, the results of critical discussions and modifications in the convention that could not have been anticipated." "Again, in several instances where the paper corresponds with the constitution, it is at variance with the idea of Mr. Pinckney, as decidedly expressed in his propositions and in his arguments, the former in the journal of the convention, the latter in the reports of its debates." "In article 111 it is required that all money bills shall originate in the first branch of the Legislature, which he strenuously opposed on the 8th of August, and again on the 11th of August." "In article 5, members of each House are made ineligible to as well as incapable of holding any office under the Union, a disqualification highly disapproved and opposed by Mr. Pinckney on the 14th of August." "A still more conclusive evidence of error in the paper is seen in article 111, which provides that the first branch of the Legislature shall be chosen by the people, whilst the author opposed that mode of choice a few days after his plan was submitted, and urged an election by the Legislatures of the several States."

It appears also that after the ratification of the constitution Charles Pinckney wrote Mr. Madison, on May 28th, 1787, as follows: "Are you not, to use a full expression, abundantly convinced that the theoretical nonsense of an election of the members of Congress by the people in the first instance, is clearly and practically wrong—that it will, in the end, be the means of bringing our councils into contempt—and that the legislatures of the States are the only proper judges of who ought to be elected?"

In the second volume of the Madison Papers, it will be seen at page 800 that Mr. Pinckney moved that the members of Congress should be elected by the State Legislature, and not by the people. Whilst his plan of a constitution provides that they shall be elected by the people. His plan was submitted on the 29th of May,

and his motion directly in teeth of it was made June 6th. If any one will read the first report of the committee of a constitution, he will see that Governor Pinckney's plan, as now published, was copied from it, with slight alterations. How this happened no one can now tell. Mr. Madison attempts to explain the matter by erasures and interlineations.

When I first saw "the plan of a constitution," said to have been submitted by Charles Pinckney soon after the Federal convention met, its similarity to the Constitution of the United States was so striking, that I was induced to doubt its genuineness, without ever having heard it disputed. I had the same unbelief when I saw the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, as to the authenticity of that paper.

Governor Charles Pinckney, though a very able man, did not take anything like the participation in the debates on the Federal constitution that Madison, Mason, Gerry, Wilson, Hamilton and many other members did. In looking over the debates in the Federal convention a second time, very recently, I was struck with the wisdom and ability of George Mason of Virginia. He was the peer of any man in that convention for statesmanship and wisdom. In the Virginia convention called for considering the adoption of the Federal constitution, George Mason and Patrick Henry were its ablest opponents. Edmund Randolph, who refused to sign the Federal constitution after it was agreed on by a majority of the Federal convention, advocated its adoption in the Virginia convention.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

No family in South Carolina has produced more distinguished public men than the Middletons. The Rutledges and Pinckneys have given the State greater men, but not so many of them. In the course of two hundred years, since the first settlement of South Carolina, there have been six generations of Middletons, all distinguished in political life. Edward Middleton, the founder of the family in America, came to South Carolina in 1680, and was a member of the Council under the Lords Proprietors, to whom the Province was granted by Charles II., king of Great Britain and Ireland. His son, Arthur Middleton, headed the Revolution of 1719, and transferred the government of the Province from the Lords Proprietors to the crown of England, and was afterwards appointed by the king Governor of the Province. He was elected President of the Convention which revolutionized the Province in 1719. His son, Henry Middleton, was President of the Continental Congress in 1775, and his son, Arthur Middleton, the subject of this sketch, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Henry Middleton, the son of Arthur, was Governor of South Carolina, a member of Congress, and Minister to Russia. His son, John Izard Middleton, was for many years a leading member of the Legislature of South Carolina and Speaker of the House of Representatives. Here are six generations of one family, lineal descendants of the original founder of the house in South Carolina, all highly distinguished for their talents, patriotism and public services. Besides these six lineal descendants, there were several other members of the Middleton family who were distinguished. Thomas Middleton,

the son of the first Arthur, distinguished himself as colonel of a regiment in the Cherokee war of 1761, John Izard Middleton, the son of the second Arthur, was distinguished in Paris for his taste in the fine arts and his love of poetry and music. He was also the author of a work on "The Cyclopean Walls," which showed his familiarity with classical literature and the details of art. Henry Middleton, the son of Governor Henry Middleton, Minister to Russia, was an accomplished scholar and gentleman, and the author of various political essays and pamphlets, published both in England and in America.

Arthur Middleton, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, was born in 1743, at "Middleton Place," the beautiful and magnificent country seat of the Middletons, on Ashley River, near Charleston. This tasteful, magnificent residence, so handsomely adorned and improved, continued standing for more than a hundred years, and was laid in ashes by the Goths and Vandals of the Federal army during our civil war. The destruction of the works of art, genius, and literature is a disgrace to human nature, even in a civil war or revolution. Napoleon Bonaparte, the greatest of conquerors, would rob and plunder for the purpose of enriching and adorning his magnificent capital, but he never thought of setting fire to the Vatican, or the private residences in his conquered empires. Self-interest prompts a bad man to steal, for he thereby enriches himself, but nothing but the blackest and most diabolical malignity can induce one to destroy the beautiful works of art and genius.

At the age of fifteen Arthur Middleton was sent to England to be educated, as was the universal habit of the wealthy planters of South Carolina before the Revolutionary war. He graduated at the University of Cambridge, and spent two years in travelling over Europe. On his return to Charleston he became an active, zealous, and prominent leader of the Revolution. He was a member of the Legislature, Provincial Con-

gress, and the Committee of Safety. In the latter capacity he was of the greatest service. This committee was composed of the very best and most patriotic men in the country, but a portion of them were over-prudent and afraid to take any hazardous step. They required such men as Arthur Middleton, John Rutledge and William Henry Drayton and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to embolden their prudence and inspire them with daring deeds, such as the Revolution required to be successful. The truth, no doubt, is that a large portion of the people of South Carolina was at the beginning of the Revolution in favor of a reconciliation with the mother country. There was another portion of the people, as Botta says in his "History of the American Revolution," in favor of Independence from the commencement of the controversy between the colonies and Great Britain. They were headed in South Carolina by such men as Christopher Gadsden, John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, William Henry Drayton, and Arthur Middleton. They looked far beyond the issues made by the Stamp Act and the duties on tea. They wished for the colonies to govern themselves, and revolted at the idea of having their Governors, Judges, and members of Council sent over from England to govern and administer the laws for them. They were ardent Republicans, and believed in the right and wisdom of every people governing themselves.

In 1776 Mr. Arthur Middleton was elected a member of the Continental Congress, and his father, Henry Middleton, a very old man, who had been President of this Congress, retired to private life. No one affixed his signature to the Declaration of Independence with more heart-felt satisfaction than Arthur Middleton. He and John Hancock, the President of Congress, became very intimate, and lodged together. They were both gentlemen of large fortunes and dispensed a most liberal hospitality, which made their house a place of resort for all the most ardent patriots of the Revolution.

Whilst a member of Congress he took down in shorthand a great many of the important debates of that body. He himself was an active participator in those debates. His son, Governor Henry Middleton, told me that in looking over these debates in his father's handwriting he was surprised to see a speech of Madison's advocating a treaty of peace with Great Britain, which would have left the Carolinas and Georgia British Provinces. When he was himself elected a member of Congress many years afterwards, he mentioned this speech to Mr. Madison who was then President of the United States. Mr. Madison admitted that he had made such a speech and attempted to justify it on the ground that those colonies were then conquered and under British government, and the chance of ever reconquering them almost hopeless. A large portion of the people of Charleston had signed an address to Lord Cornwallis congratulating him on the conquest of the State.

In 1778 Mr. Middleton declined the office of Governor of South Carolina, and entered warmly into the defence of Charleston. When the city surrendered, he was, like other prominent patriots parolled, and in violation of his parol he was taken one night with thirty others, who had also been parolled, and sent to Florida. There he was confined in the castle of St. Augustine, and thence transferred to the Jersey prison ship. In the latter part of 1780 he was exchanged and resumed his seat in Congress. He continued a member of Congress till the close of the war, and was then elected a member of the State Senate. He died in 1787, in the forty-fourth year of his age and in the prime of his life and usefulness. He was not permitted to see the Federal Government organized and witness the glorious results of his long and laborious efforts in the cause of his country.

Mr. Arthur Middleton left two sons and two daughters, three of whom I knew. His son, Governor Henry Middleton, a most interesting and courteous old gentle-

man, was elected one of my colleagues from Greenville in the State Convention of 1831. He was a strong Union man, had just returned from Russia where he had spent fifteen years as Minister of the United States, and was spending his summer in Greenville, where he once resided before his mission to the Court of St. Petersburg. In my "Reminiscences of Public Men," I have mentioned Governor Middleton and sketched his character. One of Mr. Arthur Middleton's daughters married Major Rutledge of Tennessee, and the other my old friend, Judge Huger. His son, John Izard Middleton, lived and died in Paris, where he married the daughter of a rich banker of Naples. I have already stated that he was a fine classical scholar, having graduated at the English University of Cambridge, and that he was an author of some reputation in Europe.

The family of the Middletons in England from which the American branch has descended, was an old aristocratic family and still exists as such in that Kingdom.

PIERCE BUTLER.

It is surprising how little known this distinguished statesman is to the present generation in South Carolina. No memoir or sketch of him has ever been written. His name is not mentioned ever in any encyclopedia or biographical dictionary, yet he was, in his day and time, an eminent statesman of Carolina, a prominent member of her Legislature, an active and conspicuous delegate in the Federal Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, and three times elected a United States Senator.

Pierce Butler was a sprig of nobility, an Irishman by birth, and a member of the noble house of the great Duke of Ormond who was educated by James the First of England, and who proved himself a loyal adherent to his son and grandson in all the civil strifes and wars of Great Britain. Pierce Butler was a colonel in the British army, and sold his commission for fifteen thousand pounds. He then emigrated to America and settled in South Carolina some years prior to our revolutionary war. He married a Miss Middleton, I think, the aunt of Governor Henry Middleton. He became a warm and active partisan in our revolutionary struggle, as all of his countrymen did, without a single exception known to the writer. The Irish were known then and now for their love of liberty and hatred of oppression. And yet, few people on earth have enjoyed less of the one, or felt more of the other, than the Irish nation.

When Judge William Smith, of South Carolina, who had been a distinguished United States Senator for many years, became a candidate for the Legislature in York District, he was charged with great condescension and want of dignity by the Nullifiers, in his humble aspira-

tion; he replied that Pierce Butler, the heir of the great dukedom of Ormond, after having served in the United States Senate, threw aside his ducal robes and coronets and condescended to represent the little Parish of Prince William in the Legislature of South Carolina. The Judge regarded this illustrious example as a complete vindication of his own political course. I am not informed as to the particular services rendered by this illustrious Irishman in our revolutionary struggle, but there can be no doubt that he was a very active Whig, from the honors which were paid him by South Carolina. For some years he was a prominent member of the Legislature, then a member of the Continental Congress, and when the Federal Convention was called to frame the Constitution of the United States, Pierce Butler, with John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Charles Pinckney, was appointed to represent the State in that Convention. His course there and his speeches in that body show that he was a statesman of great ability, wisdom, and republican principles.

When the convention assembled and adopted rules for their government, Pierce Butler made an additional rule to provide against the absence of members, and the licentious publication of their proceedings. He was opposed to the reduction of the powers of the State, and in favor of members of Congress being elected by the State Legislature. He favored two Houses of Congress. He opposed the election of President by Congress, and advocated the election by Electors appointed by the Legislature. He favored giving the President power to declare war. This was one of his kingly notions. He was opposed to the frequency of Presidential elections, and voted for seven years. He advocated strongly a single Executive, and showed the dangers of a plural Presidency. He opposed giving the President an absolute negative on the legislation of Congress. He said, in all countries the Executive power constantly increased, and a Cataline or a Cromwell might arise in this country as well as in others.

Mr. Butler proposed that the Senators should receive no compensation for their services. John Rutledge concurred with him, and South Carolina and Connecticut both voted for it. Mr. Madison thinks that their purpose was for the States to pay their Senators.

There was great difficulty in the Convention as to the representation of the large States and small States in Congress. The latter were for an equal representation, which the former obstinately opposed. Mr. Butler proposed that the several States should be represented in the Senate in proportion to their wealth. Here his aristocratic education again showed itself. But there is wisdom in having both numbers and property represented in all governments. The lower House should represent population and the upper House property. The one would be a check on the other and each protect itself.

Mr. Madison moved in the Convention that two-thirds of the Senate should be allowed to make a treaty of peace without the concurrence of the President, and Mr. Butler seconded his motion. It was supposed that the President might acquire so much power and influence in war as to make him impede a treaty of peace.

Mr. Butler again contended that the representation in the lower House should also be on the basis of wealth. He argued that property was the only just measure of representation. "This was the great object of government; the great cause of war, the great means of carrying it on." He seems to have forgotten that liberty was also the great object of government and the cause of war, and that soldiers were more important than money in carrying on war.

Mr. Butler was in favor of excluding members of Congress from holding office during the term for which they were elected, and for one year afterwards. He said, "this precaution against intrigue was necessary and appealed to the example of Great Britain where men got into Parliament to obtain office for themselves or their friends." He argued that representation should include

blacks as well as whites, and that "taxation and representation should go together."

Mr. Butler opposed any abridgment of the right of suffrage, and said: "There is no right of which the people are more jealous than that of suffrage;" in this he showed his wisdom and republicanism. He contended that representatives in Congress should be elected for three years instead of two. He was decidedly opposed to the admission of foreigners into Congress without a long residence in the country. He said, "foreigners bring with them, not only attachments to other countries, but ideas of government so distinct from ours, that in every point of view they are dangerous." He acknowledged that "if he himself had been called into public life within a short period after his coming to America, his foreign habits, opinions and attachments, would have rendered him an improper agent in public affairs." This was a very frank admission for an Irish sprig of nobility to make.

Mr. Butler insisted in the Convention that members of Congress should be paid by the States in order to make them feel their dependence on the States. He opposed most strenuously the proposition of giving Congress the power to tax exports "as unjust and alarming to the staple States, and that he never would agree to such power being given Congress." On the clause to exclude the Senate from originating money bills, Mr. Butler said he saw no reason for such discrimination. "We were always following the British Constitution, when the reason of it did not apply. There was no analogy between the House of Lords and the Senate."

In regard to giving Congress the power to "emit bills of credit," Mr. Butler remarked that "paper was a legal tender in no country in Europe. He was urgent for disarming the government of such a power." He thought that the regulation of the militia should be left to Congress entirely "as they had the care of the general defence. Mr. Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina,

proposed to give to Congress the power to negative all State laws. This was a most extraordinary proposition, and it was advocated by Mr. Madison, but Mr. Butler opposed it most vehemently and said it was "cutting off all hope of equal justice to the distant States." He might have added that it was the destruction of all State sovereignty and power. It is curious to see how crude the notions of some of our greatest statesmen were, and it is wonderful to think they at last agreed on such a wise Constitution.

The Convention determined to have one Supreme Court, and then it was proposed to have inferior Federal Courts in each State. Mr. Butler thought the State courts might serve for inferior tribunals under the Federal government. In regard to the ratification of the Federal Constitution, Mr. Butler proposed that when it was adopted by nine States it should go into operation. He had no idea that one or two small States should have the power of defeating the Constitution. His proposition was finally adopted.

On the 16th day of January, 1788, the Legislature of South Carolina took into consideration the propriety of calling a convention for the purpose of ratifying the Federal Constitution, or rejecting it, as the convention might determine. Pierce Butler was elected a member of that Legislature, and he was active and efficient in urging on the Legislature the propriety of calling a convention. The Federal Constitution was thoroughly discussed by the members of the Legislature for several days on the call of a convention. Finally a vote was taken and it stood: ayes, 76—nays, 75. So the convention was called by only a majority of one vote. Almost all the distinguished men of South Carolina were in this Legislature.

The Convention convened on the 12th of May, and continued in session till the 23d of May. It seems that Pierce Butler was not in the Convention. His Parish, Prince William, was unanimous for the adoption of the

Constitution. He may have been elected and was unable to attend. Almost all the great men of South Carolina were returned to this Convention, and it is said, "the discussion was continued for eight days with great brilliancy. Judge Burke, Mr. Bowman, Dr. Faysoux and others discussing the abuses and misconstructions of which the Constitution was susceptible; Judge Pendleton, General Pinckney, and Harvey Pringle, among many other distinguished members enforcing the expediency and necessity of its adoption." It is to be deeply regretted that we have no full report of this discussion. Governor Charles Pinckney's speech is almost the only one given in full. When the vote was taken on the adoption of the Constitution it stood: ayes, 149—nays, 73, and 14 absent.

After the adoption of the Federal Constitution the Legislature of South Carolina assembled and elected Pierce Butler and Ralph Izard their first Senators to represent the State in the Senate of the United States. At the expiration of his Senatorial term in 1793, he was re-elected to the United States Senate, and continued to serve till December 3d, 1796, when he resigned his seat in the Senate and John Hunter, of Laurens District, was elected to fill his vacancy. In November, 1802, Pierce Butler was again elected United States Senator in place of John Ewing Calhoun who had died. He continued in the Senate two years after his third election, when he again resigned his seat, and John Gaillard was elected to fill his vacancy.

Whilst in the Senate of the United States, Mr. Butler was one of its ablest members; but all the discussions in that body were with closed doors, and no reports of speeches made till the session of 1795. Then we find Mr. Butler making a speech on the address to the President. He had opposed the ratification of Jay's Treaty and thought that the address reflected on the ministry. He "could not vote for it without involving himself in a palpable inconsistency." Jacob Read, his colleague in the Senate

from South Carolina, who had voted for the treaty, made a most happy and admirable reply to Mr. Butler.

Again, on January 6th, 1796, we find Mr. Butler making a speech on the presentation of the French flag. It seems that he was more cordial towards the French Republic than a majority of the Senate. This was very natural for an Irishman. In October, 1803, Mr. Butler proposed as an amendment to the Constitution that no person should be eligible to the Presidency for more than four years in eight. In other words that the President should not be re-eligible until after the expiration of four years.

In consequence of the contest for the Presidency between Jefferson and Burr, Congress determined to alter the Constitution and require the Electors to vote separately for President and Vice-President. In 1803, Mr. Butler was chairman of the committee which made a report on this subject to the Senate of the United States. But after he had made his report in favor of the change, he became doubtful of the influence the change would have on the small States: He began to think it would give them less influence in the election than in the original plan. In his speech on the subject he referred to the republics of Greece and Rome, and said: "Their history is that of all nations in similar circumstances, for *man is man in every clime*, and passions mingle in all his actions." Senator Tracy, of Connecticut, repeated this expression and said "it should be written in letters of gold!"

Many years since I was in conversation with Mr. Henry Middleton, the son of Governor Middleton, about Pierce Butler. He spoke of him from tradition as "a blundering Irishman." If so, he was a very successful blunderer, for he blundered into one of the first and wealthiest families of South Carolina, and then into the United States Senate. In the latter part of his life he moved to Philadelphia, and died in 1822. He left a large estate and two or three daughters, but no sons.

This was a sad misfortune to a proud scion of the noble House of Ormond, who wished his family name and posterity to be perpetuated. One of his daughters married a gentleman in Philadelphia, and her children assumed the name of Butler, by direction of their grandfather's will. One of her sons married Fannie Kemble, the authoress and actress, who separated from him after having had two lovely daughters, on account of incompatibility of temper and habits. This marriage and separation created a great stir in the aristocratic circles of Philadelphia. Mr. Butler was an accomplished gentleman of large fortune. He fell desperately in love with the beautiful, talented, fascinating actress, who belonged to a distinguished family in England, and whose reputation was pure and unsullied. But it seems they were not congenial spirits. In one of her letters to Mr. Butler she said, "I once loved you enough to give you *my hand*." But she did not say "*my heart*."

Mr. Fisher, of Philadelphia, whose wife was a daughter of Governor Middleton, and a relation of Butler, seemed to think he was to blame for their separation. But there seldom occurs a separation between husband and wife when both were not to blame. Divorces were never allowed in South Carolina for two hundred years, and until the State was dishonored by a carpet-bag and scalawag and negro government. The religious and moral sentiment of public opinion now demands that this disgraceful Act should be erased from our statutes.

JOHN MARSHALL.

The prominence of Chief Justice Marshall, as a Judge, has overshadowed his eminence as a statesman. In thinking of him, and speaking of him, the American people regard him only as Chief Justice of the United States and the most illustrious of all our Judges. But he was also eminent as a statesman, and justly entitled to rank as such, with Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison and their compeers. He was also a great diplomatist and gallant officer of the Revolutionary war. More than all this, he was a sterling patriot and a man of incorruptible honor, as bold and fearless in civil life as he had been in war.

We are told in the lives of the Chief Justices of the United States that the grandfather of John Marshall was born in Wales, and that he emigrated to America in 1730, and settled in Westmoreland county, Virginia. There he married Elizabeth Markham, a native of England. His eldest son, Thomas, married Mary Keith, a connection of the Randolph family. They had fifteen children, and John Marshall, the Chief Justice, was the eldest of them. They moved from Westmoreland county to Fauquier county and settled at a place called Germantown, where John was born. Lord Fairfax was at that time the proprietor of this county, and he employed George Washington two or three years in surveying his vast domain, which included all the northern neck of Virginia as well as Fauquier county. Thomas Marshall and George Washington "had been near neighbors from birth, associates from boyhood, and were always friends," says Mr. Birney, in his eulogy on the Chief Justice. Washington employed him to assist in surveying Lord Fairfax's lands. He

was a practical surveyor, a man of great energy of character and vigor of intellect. Although he was without the advantages of early education, like his friend Washington, yet he was a man of great natural ability and obtained very considerable mental culture. He was well read in history, poetry and general literature. He was a good mathematician, and had some knowledge of astronomy. It is said, too, he possessed all the standard works of English literature. He was a Colonel in the Continental army, and served all the war under the immediate command of General Washington. In the battles of Brandywine and Monmouth he was distinguished for his bravery and gallantry. "My father," said the Chief Justice in after life, "was a far abler man than any of his sons."

John Marshall was born the 24th of September, 1755, and soon after his birth, his father moved east of the mountains, where his son grew up to manhood in a wild country, very thinly settled. He received no education till he was fourteen years old, except what he obtained at home under the instruction of his father. He was studious and read with great avidity Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden and Pope. At the age of twelve, he transcribed the whole of Pope's Essay on Man, and had memorised portions of his Moral Essay. He manifested a poetical turn of mind and indulged in the cultivation of the muses. Throughout life, it is said, he had a fondness for poetry, which no one would have supposed from his dry logical mind.

At the age of fourteen he was sent to school for the first time. There was no school in the wilderness of mountains where his father had settled. He went to an academy in Westmoreland county and there stayed one year. James Monroe, President of the United States, was his fellow-student. Little did these raw country lads then suppose that they were to fill two of the highest offices in America. Lord Mansfield says that when he started from Edinburgh for London on a

little pony, he never dreamed of being Chief Justice of Great Britain. Marshall returned home and studied the classic one year longer at his father's house under the direction of a Scotchman. But in truth, it may be said, with a dictionary and grammar he educated himself.

He was nineteen years old when the battle of Lexington was fought. He was appointed Lieutenant of a militia company and walked ten miles with his gun on his shoulder to the muster ground. The Captain was absent and he drilled the company, told them that there had been fighting in the North and he expected to volunteer his services and hoped that they would do the same. He was dressed in a blue hunting shirt, fringed with pantaloons of the same cloth. He wore a round hat with a deer's tail in it for a cockade. After the muster was over he indulged in pitching quoits and running foot races. Such was the great Chief Justice of the United States at nineteen. He marched with his company to the seaboard of Virginia, and there participated in the first battle of the Old Dominion for liberty and independence. He afterwards received the appointment of Captain in the Continental Army, and served under Washington till 1780. He was in the battles of Brandywine, Monmouth, Paulus Hook and others. He was in the army at Valley Forge during that terrible winter, when the soldiers were tracked in the snow by the blood on their feet.

In 1780 he was sent home to recruit men for filling up the ranks of his company. During this time he read law and attended the lectures of Chancellor Wythe and Bishop Madison in William and Mary's College. When Virginia was invaded by Arnold, he joined the army again under the command of Baron Steuben, and remained there till the termination of the invasion. He obtained a license to practice law, and soon rose to distinction at the Bar. In after life he modestly attributed his early success in his profession to

the influence and patronage of the officers of the army with whom he had become acquainted during the Revolutionary war. He had acted as Judge Advocate of the Brigade in which he served, and this introduced him, and made him acquainted with all the officers of the army. No doubt the talents and ability he displayed as Judge Advocate satisfied the officers that they could not, when peace returned, entrust their business to an abler lawyer.

Mr. Marshall was elected a member of the Virginia Legislature in 1782, being then twenty-seven years old, and in 1784 was appointed a member of the Executive Council. He was again elected to the Legislature and continued a member of that body for a number of years. In 1783 he was married to Miss Mary Willie Ambler, the daughter of the State Treasurer, for whom he formed an attachment whilst in the army. They lived together in married life almost fifty years, with uninterrupted happiness. When Mrs. Marshall died, her loss cast a gloom over the thoughts of the Chief Justice, from which he never recovered, says Judge Story, his intimate friend and associate in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Soon after his marriage Mr. Marshall moved to Richmond, and devoted himself to his profession. But the people forced him to continue in the Legislature, where he was associated with Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Tyler, Tazewell, and President Madison. At that time he and Madison labored together in all their political views; but differed widely in after life. This difference, however, never produced any alienation of mutual respect and friendship. Judge Story says "Nothing could be more touching to an inquiring mind than to hear from their own lips, in their latter years, expressions of mutual respect and confidence; or to witness their earnest testimony to the talents, virtue, and services of each other." This was not the case, however, with Jefferson and Marshall. In his old age

Jefferson accused Marshall of falsifying history, and soiling his gown by his commentaries on the letter written by Jefferson to Mazzie. And Marshall said of Jefferson, that "the morals of the author of the letter to Mazzie cannot be pure." After the trial of Aaron Burr for high treason, Marshall and Jefferson never spoke to each other. The greatest and best of men will sometimes misunderstand each other, suspect each other's actions, expressions and motives, and fall out.

Marshall was the earnest, fearless advocate of a better and stronger Union than we had under the old articles of confederation, and when the adoption of the Federal Constitution was submitted to the Virginia Convention he was a candidate for a seat in that convention. A majority of his constituents were opposed to the adoption of the Constitution, and they informed Marshall that there would be no opposition to him if he would pledge him to vote against the adoption. This Marshall positively refused to do, and the election was warmly discussed. His personal popularity secured his election. The ablest and most distinguished men of Virginia were members of that convention. Patrick Henry, George Mason, Bland, Grayson, Tyler and President Monroe were opposed to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. On the other hand, Madison, Marshall, Randolph, Nicholas, Pendleton, Wythe and Bushrod Washington were the advocates of its adoption. These debates comprise the entire third volume of "Elliot's Debates," and although imperfectly reported, show the great talents and ability of the convention. It will be seen by reference to this work, that the speeches of Marshall and Madison surpass all others that were made, Patrick Henry's and George Mason's not excepted. John Marshall, at that time, was only thirty-three years old. The constitution was adopted by a vote of 89 to 79. But for the unsurpassed ability of Marshall and Madison it would unquestionably have been rejected.

Mr. Marshall continued a member of the Virginia

Legislature till 1794. He was ten years one of the most prominent and active members of that body, and during that time the most important questions affecting the State and the national government were discussed and settled. The practice of Mr. Marshall at the Bar in 1792 rendered it impossible for him to continue in the Legislature. He was engaged on all the leading cases in the State and national tribunals. These cases fill in a great measure the two volumes of Washington's Reports, and are "proud monuments of the professional fame of the future Chief Justice."

Jay's treaty excited the whole nation in 1796, and party divisions ran higher than they ever did before. The Federalists, with Washington at their head, approved of the treaty, and the Republicans denounced it in most unmeasured terms. Marshall addressed a public meeting in Richmond approving the treaty. The election for a member of the Legislature came on immediately afterwards. There were two opposing candidates, and Marshall went to the polls and voted for the one who was his personal and political friend. Some one demanded that a poll be opened for John Marshall. This Mr. Marshall positively refused and went off. No sooner had he gone than a poll was opened for him, and he was elected by a large majority of the voters. When the Legislature met, Jay's treaty came up for discussion, and Marshall made the greatest effort of his genius, which at once gave him a national reputation, and placed him amongst the eminent statesmen of the Republic. He was re-elected the next year a member of the Legislature, without opposition. He went to Philadelphia to argue in the Supreme Court of the United States the great case involving the payment of English debts which had been confiscated by the State of Virginia. His argument in this case was one of great ability and learning. "He was followed by crowds," says Wirt, "looked upon and courted with every evidence of admiration and respect for the great

powers of his mind." He was on the side of the debtor and gained the case in the Circuit Court of the United States, but lost it in the Supreme Court.

The office of Attorney-General of the United States was now tendered him by President Washington, which he declined. Washington then appointed him Minister to France. This high position he likewise declined, and General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was appointed in his place. General Pinckney was not received by the French Directory. Mr. Adams, who was now President of the United States, made an effort to prevent a war between the United States and the French Republic by appointing Marshall, Pinckney and Gerry Ministers Extraordinary to the French Government. Mr. Marshall felt it his duty to accept this appointment, and he made an address to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, which, his biographer says, "will compare favorably with the ablest diplomatic correspondence in the American Archives." It was a voluminous and most elaborate defence of the American policy with regard to France. Although the mission was unsuccessful, Marshall acquired great popularity for his efforts to adjust the difficulties between the two countries, and on his return he received everywhere the highest honors for his services in the cause of his Government.

In 1798 the mind of Washington was filled with the most gloomy forebodings of the Republic, and he took a deep interest in forcing into public service the ablest and best men of the country. Marshall was invited to Mount Vernon, and Washington prevailed on him to become a candidate for Congress. "After a sharp contest he was elected, and took his seat in that body in December, 1799." President Adams had tendered him a seat on the Circuit bench of the United States, which he promptly declined. He entered Congress determined to do his duty, and was above all partisan feelings. He voted for the repeal of the "Sedition Law," which had been passed at the preceding session. He made a speech

in defence of the President for his conduct relative to the extradition of Jonathan Robins, which, Judge Story says, "was one of the most consummate judicial arguments that was ever pronounced in the halls of legislation." "Like Lord Mansfield's answer to the Prussian Memorial, it was *reponse sans replique*—an answer so irresistible that it admitted of no reply."

Immediately after the adjournment of Congress in May, 1799, Marshall was appointed Secretary of War. He wrote to President Adams to withdraw the appointment, and before he received an answer he found himself appointed Secretary of State. This position he accepted, and a more judicious appointment could not have been made. He was well acquainted with all our foreign affairs, and conducted them with distinguished ability and wisdom. Mr. Adams had had great difficulty with his disjointed cabinet, as it was termed; but after Mr. Marshall came into it all was pleasant and agreeable.

In February, 1801, whilst Secretary of State, Mr. Marshall was appointed Chief Justice of the United States, in the place of Ellsworth, who had resigned; but he continued to discharge the duties of Secretary of State till the termination of Mr. Adams's administration on the 4th of March ensuing. In writing to Judge Story, John Quincy Adams said that his father's appointment of Marshall Chief Justice of the United States, and his declining the appointment of Associate Judge in favor of Story, were enough to make the country grateful to them, if they had done nothing else during the terms of their administration.

Chief Justice Marshall presided in the Supreme Court of the United States thirty-five years, and his able and learned decisions in that court are a monument of his fame and wisdom. I shall not pretend in a sketch of this kind to review his judicial character. I speak of him as an eminent American statesman, and I hope that I have shown that he was entitled to rank as such in the

estimation of his country. All the great constitutional questions which have risen under our complex form of government were decided by him. He first decided the power of the Federal Courts to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional, and that any legislation of a State in conflict with the Constitution of the United States was null and void.

The family of Chief Justice Marshall were all remarkable for their talents—brothers and sisters, fifteen in all. They are scattered over Kentucky and Virginia, and many of them have risen to eminence. The appearance of the Chief Justice was not remarkable or striking. He was tall and slender—over six feet; not graceful, and not having the appearance of strength. He was plain and affable in his manners and negligent of his dress; indeed, he looked like a plain, awkward countryman. It is said in his biography that he always went to market himself; and on one occasion a fashionable young gentleman asked him to carry home for him a turkey, which he did. The young gentleman then offered him a shilling for his services, which he modestly declined. The young gentleman enquired of some one who this obliging countryman was, and was told he was Judge Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States!

The following description of him is by William Wirt, then Attorney General of the United States: "He was tall, meagre, emaciated; his muscles relaxed and his joints so loosely connected as not only to disqualify him apparently for any vigorous exertion of body, but to destroy everything like harmony in his air or movements. Indeed, in his whole appearance and demeanor—dress, attitude, gesture, sitting, standing or walking—he is as far removed from the idealised graces of Lord Chesterfield as any other gentleman on earth." John Randolph, the most fastidious and aristocratic of men, said that "the Chief Justice's manner was perfect good breeding." Natural simplicity, without any pretention or assumption, is the characteristic of the highest aristocracy of England.

In 1808 Mr. Justice Story visited Washington for the first time, then a young lawyer, and gave the following description of Chief Justice Marshall in a letter to a friend in Boston: "He is of a tall, slender figure, not graceful or imposing, but erect and steady. His hair is black, his eyes small and twinkling, his forehead rather low, but his features are, in general, harmonious. His manners are plain yet dignified; and an unaffected modesty diffuses itself through all his actions. His dress is very simple, yet neat, his language chaste, but hardly elegant; it does not flow rapidly, but it seldom wants precision. I love his laugh."

A venerable kinsman of the Chief Justice pays the following tribute to his domestic virtues:—"He had no frays in boyhood. He had no quarrels or outbreaks in manhood. He was the composer of strife. He spoke ill of no man. He meddled not with their affairs. He viewed their worst deeds through the medium of charity. He had eight sisters and six brothers, with all of whom, from youth to age, his intercourse was marked by the utmost kindness and affection."

After the death of Mrs. Marshall, Judge Story wrote his wife, after visiting the Chief Justice: "I saw at once he had been shedding tears over the memory of his own wife; and he said to me he rarely goes through a night without weeping over her departure." "She must have been a very extraordinary woman so to have attached him, and I think he is the most extraordinary man I ever saw for the depth and tenderness of his feelings."

Chief Justice Marshall, with President Madison and President Monroe, was a member of the Virginia Convention in 1829 for the purpose of adopting a new Constitution. In a speech which he made in that Convention he uttered the following memorable words: "I have always thought, from my earliest youth till now, that the greatest scourge an angry Heaven ever inflicted upon

an ungrateful and sinning people *was an ignorant, a corrupt, or a dependent judiciary.*"

It was the fashion in times past to compare Marshall with Mansfield as a judge. But his biographer says: "The American Chief Justice is something more than a Mansfield. Equally endowed with every moral as well as intellectual attribute which can adorn the highest judicial character, but with a firmer temper and a loftier courage, a more solid and compact intellect, a more robust and rugged manhood, he stands before us, if not superior as a judge, yet greater as a man." William Pinkney, the most accomplished lawyer the American Bar ever produced, said that "Marshall was born to be the Chief Justice of any country into which Providence should have cast him." He was a member of the Episcopal Church, and died in Philadelphia July 6th, 1835, in his eightieth year, in full possession of his mental faculties.

"The great, the good, the wise,
Born for all ages, honored in all skies."

THEOPHILUS PARSONS.

This intellectual colossus of the Old Bay State was more eminent as a lawyer than as a statesman. His soubriquet was "the giant of the Law." Mr. Justice Story of the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced him "the greatest living lawyer, and head and shoulders taller than any of his cotemporaries." These cotemporaries, too, were such lawyers as Fisher, Ames, Dexter, Cabot, Strong, Alexander Hamilton and Governor Sullivan. But he was also a profound statesman, classical scholar, mathematician and learned man. His memory was as great as his other intellectual endowments, and he never forgot anything that he read. Had he devoted his wonderful abilities to politics as he did to law he would have been among the most eminent of American statesmen.

Theophilus Parsons was the son of a poor clergyman of Byfield, Massachusetts, who managed to support himself, his wife and five children, on a salary of two hundred and eighty dollars per annum. What would our clergy of the present day say to a stipend like this? What would Parson Beecher, a New England man, with an annual salary of twenty thousand dollars think of this devout and pious clergyman's compensation? On his mother's side, who was a most remarkable talented and learned woman, he was the lineal descendant of John Robinson of Leyden, who projected the expedition of the Pilgrims in the Mayflower to Plymouth Rock, and died before he could follow them. Theophilus used to boast of this descent, though he was not vain and cared nothing for distinction. It is said he scorned applause and popularity, and had no ambition for honors or office. He was born in Byfield, Massachusetts,

on the 24th of February, 1750, and educated in the academy at that place till he was fifteen years old. The parson owned a little farm, and no doubt Theophilus, like most New England boys of that day, worked on it in the summer and went to school in the winter. His extraordinary capacity for learning and his studious habits induced his father to think of sending him to college. The parishioners contributed some of the products of their farms for this purpose, and he entered Harvard College in 1765, and graduated in 1769. Judge Tudor, who was his classmate and chum and friend for a half century, says: "He was an insatiable student, and after learning his lesson would turn for his amusement to a mathematical problem or a novel with equal relish."

In a playful description of his chum, as "Chrysander," the Judge wrote as follows whilst they were in college: "Nature, when she made Chrysander, was unkind in point of externals. But though she left him defective in the trappings of person, that deficiency was amply compensated by the bestowment of ten thousand amiable and valuable qualities. To a vivacity of fancy and promptitude of invention she joined a penetrating genius and a spirit of investigation that pervaded her deepest recesses. With an industry that difficulties invigorated, and a sagacity that nothing could elude, it is not to be thought strange that he soon became familiar with the whole circle of the sciences." The likeness of Chief Justice Parsons, in the frontispiece of his life, by his son, would indicate that he was left very "defective in the trappings of person." His head and face are large and rather ruffian looking!

Daniel Webster, whilst a law student, describes Chief Justice Parsons in his journal, as follows: "Theophilus Parsons is now about fifty-five years old, of rather large stature, and inclining a little to corpulency. His hair is brown, and his complexion not light. His face is not marked by any striking feature, if we except his

eyes. His forehead is low and his eyebrows prominent. He wears a blue coat and breeches, worsted hose, a brown whip with a cocked hat. He has a penetrating eye of an indescribable color. A great scholar in everything in his profession, he is peculiarly great. * * * * He has no fondness for public life, and is satisfied with standing where he is—at the head of his profession."

His son says: Mr. Webster is mistaken in the color of his hair, which was black, and in saying he had a low forehead. He wore a wig at that time which was brown, and concealed the height of his forehead. No doubt his forehead was high, for no great man ever yet had a low forehead. Brains make greatness, and there must be a capacious forehead to hold them. Mr. Webster says he is a wit, but his son says what he remembers of his father, is not *wit*, but *fun*. "If ever a man loved fun and frolic, he did. He laughed easily and heartily, although often with his mouth shut, and silently, he loved to laugh and make others laugh, and he knew how to do it."

His son says he could turn into a laugh what might have become a quarrel. He and Governor Sullivan had some little war of words in court, in which Parsons got the better of him. Sullivan took the broad-brimmed hat of Parsons whilst he was addressing the jury, and wrote on it with a piece of chalk, "This is the hat of a darned rascal." The bar saw it, and laughed. Parsons turning round picked up the hat and said, "May it please your Honor, I crave the protection of the court. Brother Sullivan has been stealing my hat and *writing his own name in it*." In Connecticut no man was allowed to travel on Sunday, and Parsons, who had been attending court at Hartford, started home Sunday morning. He was stopped by a constable, and he demanded his authority, which was produced, and authorized the officer to stop him. Parsons told his driver to get in the carriage, and they would stop in obedience to law. The constable told him he must go

back with him. "No," said Parsons, "you are authorized to stop me and nothing more." After waiting some time the constable left him and he proceeded on his journey.

Like a great many other great men, Parsons taught school three years after graduating. In the meantime he was reading law, and admitted to the Bar. He established himself at Suffolk, now Portsmouth, which town was immediately afterwards burned by the British army, and he returned to his father's. Fortunately for him, Judge Trowbridge had taken refuge at Byefield, with the best law library in America. For three years Parsons read the Judge's books, day and night, and his memory was such that he never forgot what he had read. This was during the revolutionary war. He established himself after the war ceased in Massachusetts, at Newberryport, and commenced again to practice law. His learning and ability soon placed him at the head of his profession, and his greatness was the talk of the town. One day, says his son and biographer, Judge Greenleaf told his daughter, Betsey, who was keeping house for him, that he would have some company the next day to dine with them, and amongst others Mr. Parsons. "What," said Miss Betsey, "that great lawyer about whom everybody is talking? I shall not be able to say a word to him!" "Never mind," replied her father, "he can talk enough for both of you." Within twelve months from that time he and Miss Betsey were married, and she had the great lawyer to talk to all her life! They had twelve children, seven of whom grew up to an adult age. His profession proved as fruitful as his wife, and he made a fortune, lived sumptuously, entertained a great deal of company and was happy. No doubt Miss Betsey often looked back to that terrible dinner with a great deal of pleasure. It gave her a great, good and loving husband, which all young ladies would be glad to have, although some of them may be too modest to acknowledge it.

In 1800 Parsons moved to Boston. He was then fifty years old, with an overshadowing reputation as a lawyer. He was sent for all over New England and New York to argue great cases in the State Courts and the United States Court. He frequently met Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr on opposite sides to him, and he showed himself as a lawyer greatly superior to either of them. Whilst he resided in Essex county he took an active part in defeating the new Constitution, which had been framed for the State of Massachusetts, and wrote the famous "Essex Result," which showed him to be a profound statesman. A convention was then called to form another constitution and he was elected a member of that convention. The State Constitution adopted was very much the work of his great mind. When the Federal Constitution was submitted to the people of Massachusetts for their ratification, Parsons was elected a member of the convention before whom the Constitution was laid for their adoption. A majority of the members were opposed to the Constitution, and but for the management and ability of Parsons it would have been rejected. Samuel Adams and Governor Hancock were both opposed to the Constitution. They were States' Rights men, and the most popular men in Massachusetts. They thought the Federal Constitution yielded too much authority to the general government, and would result in arbitrary power and destruction of the State government. The fate of the Federal Constitution depended on its adoption by Massachusetts. This was the opinion of Washington, Madison and other eminent statesmen. If rejected by Massachusetts, Virginia and New York would certainly do the same thing. All eyes were therefore turned to the Massachusetts Convention, and the friends of the Constitution waited with trembling anxiety the result.

After a discussion of every article and section of the Constitution, and when the vote was about to be taken, Parsons drew up several amendments, and placed them

in the hands of Governor Hancock to submit to the convention. This gratified the vanity of the Governor and gave him an opportunity of playing mediator between the Federalists and anti-Federalists or Republicans as they were afterwards called. These amendments were most formally submitted by Hancock, and Samuel Adams agreed to them. If they had been offered by Parsons, a strong Federalist, they would not have been considered satisfactory to the anti-Federal party. This drafting the amendments by Parsons was kept a profound secret. Hancock was applauded by both parties, and became the popular idol of Massachusetts. Most of these amendments were ratified by the States, and became a part of the Federal Constitution. It may then with truth be said that this great lawyer, Parsons, had the Federal Constitution ratified, and but for his ability and management it would not have been adopted by nine States.

Parsons cared nothing more for popularity than he did for the whistling of the wind. He had no ambition and despised applause and flattery. President Adams tendered him the Attorney-Generalship of the United States, which he declined to accept. His acceptance would have required him to live in Washington. In 1806, Chief Justice Dana resigned his office and immediately Judge Parker and Judge Sewell went to Governor Strong and urged him to appoint Mr. Parsons Chief Justice, without consulting him, and they thought if he would do so, they could prevail on Parsons to accept the office. At that time Parsons's practice was worth ten thousand dollars in cash, and it was known that he had an aversion to holding any office. But his friends made him think that a sense of public duty required him to accept the Chief Justiceship. It would occupy too much space to give their reasons. Parsons, too, was getting old, and had thought of retiring from the Bar, and giving advice at Chambers. He was finally prevailed on to accept the appointment, and he continued to discharge

the duties of this high office till his death in 1813, with great honor to himself and State. It is said his appointment gave the highest satisfaction to the people, to the Bar and the Judges, except Judge Sedgewick, who thought he was entitled to the appointment himself. Judge Sedgewick had been a long time on the bench, and had once been Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States.

His biographer says Parsons "was not eloquent, and could not be, although he was exceedingly fluent, and had much power of rich and varied expression." Why then was he not eloquent when occasion called for eloquence? He entertained the opinion that eloquence was a great hindrance to a lawyer, and of no great value anywhere. "One reason for this opinion," says his biographer, "was probably his want of that love of admiration and applause which those who philosophize about these things consider a principal source and stimulus of eloquence. These were never desired by him, and indeed he sometimes avoided them, and manifested his disgust for them in a rude and peremptory way." It is said he never delivered an oration or an address, or made a speech in his life, excepting in court, or in a legislative assembly. He was purely intellectual and without ambition. A rare man in this American Republic!

Chief Justice Parsons, with all his amiability of disposition, was sometimes very rude to the members of the Bar, but he always passed it off pleasantly. Amongst many instances given in his life, I will mention one: Tristram Burgess was a gentleman of the old school, and made his appearance in court in silk stockings, lace ruffles and powdered hair. He was an old personal friend of the Chief Justice, and rose to argue his case to the jury. The points of the case were called for by the Court. In reply, Burgess stated the first. The Chief Justice said: "That is no point at all, Brother Burgess. Have you another?" "Yes, your Honor," and he

stated it. "You have not a particle of evidence for that point, as you very well know, Brother Burgess. What other?" The same remark was made to all the points. Mr. Burgess said: "May it please your Honor, I think I have a very good case, and believe I can satisfy the jury of it." His Honor replied: "A very good case you may have, but unfortunately there is no evidence offered to support before the jury." Mr. Burgess gathered up his papers most indignantly and walked out of court whilst the Judge was charging the jury. He commenced haranguing the crowd in the court-yard about the tyranny of the Chief Justice, and called on them to rise up and stop the court, or their liberties were lost. Just at this point the Chief Justice passed out of Court and stopped to listen to Mr. Burgess. The crowd were amused and commenced laughing. The Chief Justice stepped up to him and said: "Brother Burgess, if you get through in time I wish you to come and dine with me!" Burgess paused and said: "I give it up, I give it all up," and took the Judge's arm. They had a very pleasant dinner.

The memory of Chief Justice Parsons was most extraordinary, except in recalling names. He could remember the principle decided in a case, and repeat it, but he could not tell the name of the case. He remembered everything about it but the names of the parties. Very often he would miscall the names of his guests at his table. On one occasion a dignified old lady, who prided herself on her family and was dressed in the height of fashion, and whose name was "Mrs. Sevon," the Chief Justice addressed her as "Mrs. Schooner." This mortified Mrs. Parsons very much, and she exclaimed: "Good heavens, Mr. Parsons, what are you thinking!"

His son says the Chief Justice "was inattentive to his dress to the last degree, and scarcely seemed to know what he had on or how it was put on, and was as much under the constant supervision of my mother

as one of her younger children. She often went with him on the circuit, and said if she did not go with him he would not be dressed fit to be seen." On one occasion he took the circuit without his wife, and was to be gone seven days. She packed his trunk for him and put in it seven clean shirts, and requested him not to forget to put one on every day. He returned, and on looking into his trunk she found no shirts, and said to him, "What has become of them?" He replied: "You told me to be sure and put one on every morning, and I suppose they are on my back. I obeyed your instructions." This gave rise to the story that he had actually come home with seven shirts on his back, and the story was told and believed all over New England; but, in fact, the shirts had been stowed away somewhere else.

Chief Justice Parsons was a religious man all his life, but he never joined any church till towards the close of his earthly career. He then became a communicant of the Unitarian Church. He was utterly opposed to the Calvinistic doctrine, vicarious punishment and salvation by faith alone. He was a strict observer of the Sabbath, although he seldom went to church till he became a member. He was hypochondriacal in his old age, and imagined himself troubled with a great many ailments. His use of tobacco was excessive; he smoked, snuffed and chewed, either one or the other, all the time, except when in court. But in his old age he quit the use of tobacco altogether. When he did so, he carried around the circuit with him a box of fine cigars to prove that it was not necessity or the want of cigars which prevented his smoking.

Personally he had no enemies, but politically many bitter ones. He was a strong Federalist, or conservative, as he called himself, and hated Radicalism. His celebrated essay, called the "Essex Result," is a profound philosophical disquisition on government, and shows him to be as true a Republican and friend of constitutional liberty as ever breathed.

The Massachusetts reports are his best monument as a lawyer and judge. His decisions whilst Chief Justice will compare with those of the most eminent judges of England or any other nation. He was the great oracle of the common law—had thoroughly studied it and mastered it. He was all his life as hard a student as any one could be. He took no exercise and was a very hearty eater, which brought on indigestion and hypochondria. All great men, as well as all other men, have their faults and lack of prudence in some things. He was learned in all the languages, in all literature and in every science. He was a prodigy in wisdom, learning and purity, and yet his wife had to take care of him as she did one of her younger children.

In his person he was tall and slender in early life, but afterwards became stout and rather corpulent. His eyes were a striking feature in his face, and never winked whilst looking at you. Chief Justice Marshall had the same kind of eyes, and it is said his steady gaze at a prosy lawyer, without winking, frequently silenced him! This was said by the great William Lowndes to the son and biographer of Chief Justice Parsons.

The son's life of his father is an extremely interesting book. The author has inherited a good deal of his father's talents, and has distinguished himself as a writer. He was in 1859 Professor of Law in Harvard University. His mother, "Miss Betsey Greenleaf," who "could not say a word to the great lawyer about whom everybody was talking," was a charming and talented lady, and made "the great intellectual colossus" a loving and model wife, "taking care of him as she did of her younger children," and riding the circuit with him to see that he was always genteelly dressed! Next to dressing herself nicely and with taste, a wife likes to see her husband well dressed. Jefferson said that as persons grew older and lost the freshness of youth, they should pay more attention to their dress. There is great wisdom and good sense in the remark of the sage of Monticello.

ROGER SHERMAN.

This distinguished statesman and sterling patriot, like President Andrew Johnson, commenced life a mechanic. Johnson was bound to a tailor when a boy, and Sherman apprenticed to a shoemaker. They both continued to work at their respective trades several years after they became of age. Neither of them had any education, or property, or influential friends, and yet they both rose to eminence and were distinguished for their talents, learning and virtues. Benjamin Franklin commenced his illustrious life as an apprenticed printer, and Langdon Cheves, one of the greatest and purest of American statesmen, commenced his career in a shop, belonging to his father, on Sullivan's Island. George McDuffie, whom Colonel Benton pronounced "more eloquent than Demosthenes in his prime," was a clerk in a store in Augusta till he was a man grown. Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans, and President of the United States, worked some time at the saddler's trade. President Lincoln was splitting rails and rowing a boat on the Mississippi till he was a man grown. General Grant was a tanner's boy before he went to West Point. And Nathaniel Greene, a much greater General, hero and patriot, was a Quaker blacksmith till he entered the American Revolution. I might mention many, very many others, illustrious in life, who commenced as humble as Roger Sherman, the shoemaker.

This remarkable man, eminent as a Judge and Senator, was born in Massachusetts, April 19, 1721, fifteen years after the birth of the printer Franklin, in the same State. He was bound an apprentice to a shoemaker by his father, when a little boy. He continued to work at his trade till he was twenty-

two or three years old, and supported his widowed mother and her younger children. During all this time he was most diligently reading and studying whenever he had leisure to do so. He was particularly fond of the study of mathematics, and made great progress in that science. He afterwards became county surveyor, like George Washington, and made astronomical calculations for an almanac, published in New York.

In 1743, when he was twenty-two years old, he moved to Connecticut and joined his elder brother in keeping a little shop. There he read law and was admitted to the Connecticut Bar, when he was thirty-three years old, six years older than Demosthenes, Cicero, and Patrick Henry were, when they made their first great efforts at the Bar. Although Roger Sherman was not so eloquent as these illustrious orators, he was nevertheless an able advocate, and made a learned Judge and a great Senator. Soon after his admission to the Bar he was elected a member of the Connecticut Legislature, and was several times re-elected.

In 1761 he moved to New Haven from New Milford where he had previously resided in Connecticut. No doubt he became conscious of the genius within him, he wished a larger theatre for the display of his learning and talents. Four years after his removal to New Haven he was elected a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and a member of "the upper house" of the Legislature. In those days a man could be a Judge and a member of the Legislature at the same time. Mr. Sherman held both these offices for nineteen years, and was also a member of Congress.

In 1774 Roger Sherman was elected a member of the Continental Congress, and continued a member of that congress for fifteen years. How he managed to discharge the duties of Judge of the Superior Court and member of the Connecticut Legislature at the same time it is hard to conceive. But it is probable that there was not

much business done in court during the Revolutionary war. There were a great many Judges in the old Continental Congress, and even after the organization of the present Federal Government. Chief Justice Jay was sent on a mission to England, by Washington, without resigning his high office. It is said that John Adams, who was then Vice-President of the United States, desired this appointment without resigning his office of Vice-President.

Mr. Sherman was an active member of the old Continental Congress; and when a committee was appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence he was placed on that committee with John Adams, Dr. Franklin, Robert R. Livingston and Thomas Jefferson. Mr. Jefferson informs us in his notes of the proceedings of the Congress, on the Declaration of Independence, that when the Virginia instructions to their delegates were submitted, directing them to declare the colonies free and independent, South Carolina and Pennsylvania voted against their adoption. New Jersey was divided, and New York did not vote at all. The resolutions were reported to the House, and Mr. Edward Rutledge said if they were postponed till the next day, he and his colleagues, though disapproving, would vote for them for the sake of unanimity. There were a great many warm and zealous patriots who thought the Declaration of Independence premature, that is, they thought the people would not at that time approve such a step. Roger Sherman never hesitated, and finally all the members signed the Declaration of Independence except Mr. Dickinson, the author of the "Farmer Letters," and he was as true a patriot as any of them, but over-prudent and cautious.

In 1787, Mr. Sherman was elected a member of the Federal Convention to form a Constitution for the United States; and the debates of the convention, by Mr. Madison, show the active, wise, and important part he took in the formation of our Federal Constitution. The convention assembled May 25th, 1787, but Mr. Sher-

man did not take his seat until the 30th of May. The resolutions of Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, the draft of a constitution by Mr. Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, had been already submitted to the convention. Mr. Madison shows very conclusively that the draft of Mr. Pinckney as now published was not the original draft submitted by him. The published draft contains several provisions, which Mr. Pinckney strenuously opposed three months after he had submitted his original draft. The present draft, published in 1819, is so much like the Federal Constitution, as agreed on in convention, that no one can suppose it was the original draft of Mr. Pinckney, submitted when the convention assembled. It must have been drawn up towards the latter part of the session of the convention.

Mr. Sherman was a States' rights man in the Federal Convention, and objected to the constitution deviating too much from the Articles of the Confederation. He wished all powers of the government left to the States which were not absolutely needed for the ends of the Union. On the subject of prohibiting the slave trade he was opposed to the prohibition, and also to levying a tax of ten dollars on each slave imported. Virginia voted in favor of the prohibition and Connecticut against it. Mr. Jefferson says that his section of the Declaration of Independence on this subject was stricken out, out of respect to the wishes of the Carolinas and Georgia.

He likewise says the Northern States which were concerned in this trade were a little tender-footed on the subject. The truth is they felt as deep an interest in the continuance of the African slave trade as South Carolina did, for they were reaping immense profits by this diabolical traffic.

In regard to the Federal Congress, Mr. Sherman preferred one house, like the old Congress, to two houses; but said if there were two one should represent the equality of the States, and the other the population of the States. Dr. Franklin at one time ridiculed the

having two legislative bodies, and said it was like hitching an extra yoke of oxen to the tail of a cart to pull the other way. But the wisdom of having a Senate and House of Representatives is now universally admitted and adopted all over the civilized world.

The representation of the States, whether equal or in proportion to population, divided the small States from the larger, and the convention came to a dead lock in June. Dr. Franklin proposed that they should have prayers every morning and ask the assistance of the Almighty Ruler of the universe. Roger Sherman seconded the motion, but it was not adopted.

Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, was afraid the new Western States would, after a while, have the power to control the Federal government, and he therefore proposed that they should not have an equal representation in Congress with the old thirteen. This Mr. Sherman opposed, and said their descendants were as likely to be citizens of the new States as of the old ones. He was opposed to the executive being independent of the Legislature, and favored a plural executive. This was Mr. Calhoun's doctrine sixty years afterwards. Mr. Sherman favored the election of a president for three years, and his re-eligibility. He should be elected, too, by Congress and not by the people. This was at one time adopted by the votes of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. The States of Pennsylvania and Delaware voted against it.

Mr. Sherman proposed that if no election of president was made by the people, that the House of Representatives should choose the president by ballot, each State having one vote. It was proposed by other members that the Senate in such a case elect the president. He opposed an absolute negative of the president on legislation, and favored an executive council being given the president. He advocated the election of Senators by the State Legislatures, and proposed that they should be

elected for six years. He wished the judges to be appointed by the Senate, and members of Congress elected by the State Legislatures. He favored annual elections, and that the representatives should be ineligible to Federal offices. Had this proposition been adopted it would have been a wise one.

Although opposed to slavery Mr. Sherman advocated the introducing of slaves into the ratio of representation as justly due the Southern people. This showed great liberality on his part. He opposed the proposition of Charles Pinckney to give Congress a negative on State legislation. He was opposed to the States issuing paper money. In regard to making it the duty of a State to deliver up fugitive slaves he "saw no more propriety in the public seizing and surrendering a slave or servant, than a horse." But he voted for the clause as it stands in the constitution, as did the whole convention. He denounced the right of Congress to pass a bankrupt law, and Connecticut was the only State that voted against this clause in the constitution.

Mr. Pinckney moved that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the authority of the United States. Mr. Sherman thought it unnecessary, the prevailing liberality being a sufficient security against such tests." But the proposition was adopted unanimously and Mr. Sherman voted for it.

This analysis of Mr. Sherman's speeches and votes in the Federal convention, though not complete, will show what manner of statesman he was.

When the convention of Connecticut assembled to consider the adoption of the Constitution, Mr. Sherman was a member. It is said a majority of the members were opposed to the Constitution, and thought it infringed too much on the rights of the States. But owing to the influence of Chief Justice Ellsworth and Mr. Sherman it was adopted. Unfortunately no proceedings or debates of this convention have ever been

published. There is nothing in Elliott's Debates on the adoption of the Federal Constitution in the different States except a fragment of one short speech. In the South Carolina Legislature the vote on calling a convention to consider the Federal Constitution, was a majority of one only!

When the Federal Government was organized we find Judge Sherman elected a member of Congress from New Haven, and a very active and prominent member he was until transferred to the Senate of the United States. In that body we have very meagre sketches of what was done in the early history of the Federal government. In the first session of the first Congress Judge Sherman advocated the levying duties on imports, instead of direct taxation. His speech is a very sensible one. The duties imposed by this Congress were only five per cent. *ad valorem*. In modern times for the purpose of encouraging manufactures, this duty has been increased to fifty per cent.

The Senate passed a resolution that the President's title should be "His Highness, the President of the United States of America and Protector of their Liberties." This silly piece of vanity, on the part of the Senate, Judge Sherman opposed, as well as the title of "His Excellency," and all other titles. The House of Representatives had the good sense to reject all titles for the President; and left him to be addressed simply as "President of the United States." In regard to giving the President power to dismiss his cabinet without the consent of the Senate, Judge Sherman was opposed to giving this power. General Sumter, of South Carolina, said: "This bill appears to my mind so subversive of the Constitution and its consequences so destructive to the liberties of the people, that I cannot consent to let it pass without expressing my detestation of the principle it contains." It has nevertheless been the law of the land ever since the organization of the first cabinet.

In the amendments proposed to the Constitution by the first Congress, Mr. Tucker, of South Carolina, proposed to add the right of the people to instruct their representatives in Congress. Judge Sherman opposed this amendment. "If the members were to be guided by instructions," said Judge Sherman, "there would be no use in deliberation; all that a member would have to do would be to produce his instructions, and lay them on the table and let them speak for him!" His constituents might instruct him to vote for an unconstitutional law, in violation of his oath to support the Constitution. Instead of a representative Republic, we should have a pure Democracy.

In 1792, on the resignation of Senator Johnson, of Connecticut, Judge Sherman was elected a member of the United States Senate. He served two sessions in the Senate and died July 23, 1893. It is truthfully said of him, "His services to the country were invaluable, and few of his contemporaries left their impress more clearly upon American institutions." Like Franklin, Jackson, Greene and Washington, he was one of nature's noblemen. Though born in humble poverty, and apprenticed to a shoemaker, the nobility of his nature and his great intellectual endowments could not be suppressed and concealed from the world.

I believe General Sherman, the great Incendiary of the South, claims his descent from or kinship with this great and good man. After many crosses, the Sherman blood of 1776 may run very thin in the veins of the General. Roger Sherman was a man of a great deal of dry humor and wit. In the old Continental Congress a member said he detested the English so much that he wished the Americans to speak a different language, and praised the Greek as the most beautiful of all languages. Mr. Sherman said he was too old to begin to learn Greek, and hoped the member would make the English speak that language and leave their vernacular tongue for the use of the Americans only.

DAVID RAMSAY.

The United States are indebted to the Irish and their descendants for a great many of the patriots and heroes of the Revolution. The Scotch, with some distinguished exceptions, such as Witherspoon, Lord Stirling and others, were mostly tories in the war of Independence. Their clanships, following a chieftain and obeying all his orders, have made them loyal, and that loyalty, on the extinction of the Stuarts, was transferred with equal fidelity to the House of Hanover. The Irish, from the long and cruel oppressions of their government, are devotees of liberty and have no loyalty. They and their descendants in America were ready at any time to throw off their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and become ardent and zealous revolutionists.

David Ramsay, the subject of this sketch, was the son of an Irishman. He was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, on the 2d day of April, 1749. His father, James Ramsay, was a respectable farmer, who by his own labor supported his family and educated his children. His sons all had a collegiate education. David graduated at Princeton. In his infancy he manifested an extraordinary love of reading and study. Before he was twelve years old he was prepared to enter college! and was appointed assistant tutor in a respectable academy at that early age. Governor Hayne, in his memoir of Dr. Ramsay, says, whilst a child at school, grown young men would take the little fellow on their knees and get him to learn them their lessons. After teaching one or two years, young David entered the sophomore class in Princeton college. He was prepared, it is said, to enter the junior class, but in consequence of his youth he was persuaded to enter a lower class. He passed

through college with a high reputation for learning and talent, and graduated in 1765. He then spent two years in Maryland in teaching a classical school, before he commenced his professional studies. How many great men in the United States have commenced life by teaching school!

Dr. Ramsay commenced the study of medicine in Philadelphia, and attended regularly the lectures in the Pennsylvania College. The celebrated Doctor Benjamin Rush was at that time a professor in this college. He and his young student formed a mutual friendship for each other, which continued unbroken through life. The following extraordinary recommendation of Dr. Ramsay was given by Dr. Rush: "Dr. Ramsay studied physic regularly with Dr. Bond, attended the hospital and public lectures of medicines, and afterwards graduated Bachelor of Physic with great *éclat*; it is saying but little of him to tell you that he is far superior to any person we ever graduated at our college; his abilities are not only good, but great; his talents and knowledge universal; I never saw so much strength of memory and imagination united to so fine a judgment. His manners are polished and agreeable, his conversation lively, and his behavior to all men always without offence. Joined to all these, he is sound in his principles; strict, nay more, severe in his morals; and attached, not by education only, but by principle, to the dissenting interest. He will be an acquisition to your society. He writes, talks, and what is more, lives well. I can promise more for him in everything, than I could for myself." Higher praise from a higher source than this couldn't be had by a young man just entering life. And his character ever afterwards justified the correctness of this praise.

After graduating in medicine, Dr. Ramsay established himself in Maryland, as a practicing physician, and continued there for one year, with high reputation; and then moved to Charleston, South Carolina, where a

wider field was opened for his talents and skill. He rapidly rose to eminence in his profession, and great popularity as a patriot and statesman. He was an ardent friend of freedom and his country; and one of the earliest and most zealous advocates of American independence. Immediately after the declaration of American independence he was elected a member of the South Carolina Legislature, and continued to serve in that body till the war was over. His talents, learning and patriotism made him a prominent politician during that period, and one of great influence and consideration. In 1778 he was appointed to deliver an oration on the 4th of July, which Governor Hayne says was the first ever delivered in the United States on the anniversary of American independence. This may be so; but Samuel Adams had the honor of being selected by Congress to deliver an oration on American independence the first of August, 1776. This, however, was not the anniversary of American independence, and Governor Hayne may be correct in his assertion. But it is remarkable that there should have been no oration delivered on this subject on the 4th of July, 1777, in any portion of the United States. Twenty years ago there was scarcely a county in any of the United States where the 4th of July was not celebrated. Since the close of the confederate war, the carpet-bag, scallawag and negro government of the Southern States caused all decent and patriotic men to lose all interest in the celebration of the 4th of July. They thought very properly that it would have been better for us to have remained British provinces than to live under such an infamous government. They, therefore, ceased to celebrate the day; but it is to be hoped that now we are restored to self-government, this great day will be celebrated as usual.

At every period of the war Dr. Ramsay spoke and wrote boldly in favor of independence. His speeches and fugitive pieces were of great service to the cause of American liberty. He wrote "a sermon on tea,"

which excited much attention at the time. The text taken is from the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians: "Touch not, taste not, handle not." Lord North is very ludicrously represented as holding forth chains and halters in one hand, and in the other a cup of tea, while the genius of America exclaims, "touch not, taste not, handle not, for in the day thou drinkest thereof, thou shalt surely die." In his youth, Dr. Ramsay was distinguished for wit and humor, but in his old age this quality left him. He was a member of the Council of Safety for two years in Charleston, and banished to Florida with a large number of the most prominent citizens of the State, by Lord Cornwallis. There he remained in prison eleven months. He was finally exchanged, and on his return to South Carolina immediately took his seat in the Legislature assembled at Jacksonborough. He opposed the confiscation acts passed by this Legislature, and urged that the better policy was after achieving our independence to forgive our erring brethren. He thought some of them acted conscientiously and from principle. But the remembrance of the wrongs done by the tories and British army was too fresh in the recollection of the members for them to pursue so humane a course. A large number of estates were confiscated, and many poor deluded citizens exiled. Some were afterwards permitted to return and possess their property after the excitement of the war had subsided.

In 1782 Dr. Ramsay was elected by the Legislature a member of the Continental Congress, and he was a very active and useful member of that body. He was an eloquent speaker, as well as an able writer, fluent in his words, and pure in his diction. His arguments were logical and lucid, and he seldom failed to convince his audience. He was again elected a member of Congress in 1785, and for twelve months was president of the Continental Congress. This shows the high estimate that patriotic body placed on his ability and services as a statesman and patriot. In 1786 he

resumed his practice in Charleston as a physician and was eminently successful.

Dr. Ramsay was not only eminent as a statesman and patriot in civil life, but he entered the war as a surgeon in the army, and was at the siege of Savannah. He was ready at all times to serve his country in any position where his services were most useful. He was unambitious, and one of the most disinterested of men in public and in private.

But Dr. Ramsay was still more eminent as an historian. He was, in fact, the father of history in the United States. Immediately after the war he published his history of the Revolution in South Carolina, and on going to Congress in 1785 he determined to enlarge his history and make it the history of the whole revolutionary war. He was encouraged to do this by the northern members, who gave him many facts and much material for his "History of the Revolution." Then he published the history of South Carolina in two volumes. He next published the "history of the United States," in three volumes. He had been all his life preparing a "Universal History," which was published after his death in seven or eight volumes. It is wonderful that he should have prepared and written so many historical works whilst actively engaged in a most extensive practice as a physician. But it is said he never slept more than four hours. It is very true, that some men can do with great deal less sleep than others. Four hours' sleep were enough for Napoleon, whilst his great enemy, William Pitt, prime minister of England, required eight or ten.

The works of Dr. Ramsay have made him famous in Europe as well as in America. His history of the revolution in South Carolina was translated into French immediately after its publication. In writing his histories of the revolution he had the assistance of Dr. Franklin, Dr. Witherspoon, General Green and General Washington.

In addition to these histories we have mentioned, Dr. Ramsay wrote the life of General Washington, and a most interesting memoir of his wife. He also published an oration on the acquisition of Louisiana, a eulogy on Dr. Rush, a review of the progress of medicine in the eighteenth century, a history of the Congregational church, and a great many other valuable papers on religious, medical, scientific and political subjects.

Dr. Ramsay was assassinated in 1815 by a maniac, in broad daylight near the Doctor's house in Charleston. This assassin had been indicted for an assault on his lawyer, and the court appointed Dr. Ramsay and Dr. Simons to examine him and report the condition of his mind. They reported that he was unquestionably insane, and in consequence of their report, the prisoner was kept in jail until it was supposed that his mind was restored. He was then discharged and in a short time his derangement returned. The Doctor was aware of his threats but paid no attention to them. The cause of his hostility to Dr. Ramsay was the report he made that he was insane. The Doctor lived two days after he was shot in the back, and knowing that he could not survive, he requested his friends not to have the assassin prosecuted for his murder, as he was unquestionably insane, and not accountable for his crime. He was a tailor, and his name was Linnen.

Dr. Ramsay was thrice married, first to a daughter of the celebrated Doctor Witherspoon, president of Princeton College, and a signer of American Independence, and his third wife was a daughter of Henry Laurens, the great patriot and statesman of South Carolina. But he left no children except by the last marriage.

A want of judgment in the affairs of the world was said to have been the weak point in Dr. Ramsay's character. He had studied human nature from books and not from observation. This is the fault of all great

literary men. Dr. Ramsay lost by the Santee Canal thirty thousand dollars. He was frequently made the dupe of designing and fraudulent men, and ultimately ruined by them financially. He was kind, generous and confiding, and knowing the rectitude of his own heart he never suspected the duplicity of that of others. His whole life was devoted to the formation and prosecution of plans for the good of others. He was a philanthropist in the true sense of the word, and devoted his life to the benefit of mankind. "As a husband, as a father, and in every domestic relation of life he was alike exemplary." He was a most sincere and devout Christian, and on his death-bed said: "I am not afraid to die." Why should such a man, so blameless in life, so full of love for his country, for mankind and for his God, be afraid to die. But there are thousands dying every day, who, although "not afraid to die," yet wish to live. And no doubt this was the wish of this great and good man, who was not only an ornament to his native and adopted States, but to the whole Union, and to human nature and literature.

The oration of Dr. Ramsay on the second anniversary of American Independence is given in full by the author of "American Eloquence," and if it be the first ever delivered on such an occasion, as Governor Hayne asserts it to be, there is some doubt whether this 4th of July oration has ever been surpassed in power, eloquence and ability, by the hundreds and thousands which have been delivered since by the first orators and statesmen of America. He commences by saying: "We are now celebrating the anniversary of our emancipation from British tyranny; an event that will constitute an illustrious era in the history of the world, and which promises an extension of all those blessings to our country for which we would choose to live, or dare to die."

In comparing our present form of government with the Royal government thrown off, he truthfully and

beautifully says: "It is much more favorable to purity of morals, and better calculated to promote all our important interests. Honesty, plain dealing and simple manners, were never made the patterns of courtly behavior. Artificial manners always prevail in kingly governments; and royal courts are reservoirs from whence insincerity, hypocrisy, dissimulation, pride, luxury and extravagance deluge and overwhelm the body of the people. On the other hand Republics are favorable to truth, sincerity, frugality, industry and simplicity of manners. Equality, the life and soul of commonwealths, cuts off all pretensions to preferment, but those which arise from extraordinary merit, whereas in royal governments he that can best please his superiors by the low acts of fawning and adulation is most likely to obtain favor.

"The arts and sciences, which languished under the low projects of subjection, will now raise their drooping heads and spread far and wide, till they have reached the remotest parts of this untutored continent. It is the happiness of our present constitution that all offices lie open to men of merit, of whatever rank or condition, and that even the reins of State may be held by the poorest man if possessed of abilities equal to the important station. We are no more to look for the blessings of government, to hungry courtiers, or the needy dependents of British nobility; but must educate our own children for these exalted purposes. When subjects, we had scarcely any other share in government, but to obey the arbitrary mandates of a British Parliament. But honor with her dazzling pomp, interest with her golden lure, and patriotism with her heartfelt satisfaction, jointly call upon us, now, to qualify ourselves and posterity for the bench, the army, the navy, the learned professions, and all the departments of civil government.

"The times in which we live, and the government we have lately adopted, all conspire to fan the sparks of genius in every breast and kindle them into flame.

"The weight of each State in the continental scale will ever be proportioned to the abilities of its representatives in Congress. Hence, an emulation will take place, each contending with the other which shall produce the most accomplished statesmen.

We are the first people in the world who have had it in their power to choose their own form of government. Constitutions were forced on all other nations by the will of their conquerors, or they were formed by accident, caprice, or the over-bearing influence of prevailing parties or particular persons.

"Such will be the fruits of our glorious institution, that in a little time gay fields, adorned with the yellow robes of ripening harvest, will smile in the utmost depths of our western frontier, where impassable forests now frown over the uncultivated earth. The face of our interior country will be changed from a barren wilderness into the hospitable abodes of peace and plenty. Cities, too, will rise majestic to the view on those very spots which are now hunted over by savage beasts and more savage men.

"As at the conflagration of Corinth, the various melted metals running together formed a new one, called Corinthian brass, which was superior to any of its component parts—in like manner, perhaps it is the will of Heaven that a new empire should be here formed of the different nations of the old world, which will rise superior to all that have gone before it, and extend human happiness to the utmost possible limits."

The above is a beautiful idea that the running together of the different nations of the earth, English, Irish, Scotch, French, Germans, etc., on the American continent, and being amalgamated, will produce a people superior to all the world as the Corinthian brass, composed of different metals, was superior to any of its component parts.

He says it has never yet been fairly tried how far the equal principles of republican government would secure

the happiness of the governed. The ancient Republics had no idea of a representative government. He contends that if Greece had ever had a governmental head like the national Congress, she would probably have preserved her freedom to the present day.

In conclusion the orator says: "Ever since the flood, true religion, literature, arts, empire and riches have taken a slow and gradual course from East to West, and are now about fixing their favorite abode in this new Western world. Our sun of political happiness is already risen and hath lifted its head over the mountains, illuminating our hemisphere with literary light and polished life. Our independence will redeem one quarter of the globe from tyranny and oppression, and consecrate it to the chosen seat of truth, justice, freedom, learning and religion. We are laying the foundations of happiness for countless millions. Generations yet unborn will bless us for the blood-bought inheritance we are about to bequeath to them. Oh happy times! Oh glorious days! Oh kind, indulgent, beautiful Providence, that we live in this highly favored period, and have the honor of helping forward these great events, and of suffering in a cause of such infinite importance."

These extracts give, however, a very imperfect idea of the merit of this oration. As a whole it is grand, eloquent and beautiful, and shows the statesman, patriot and polished writer.

Dr. Ramsay left four sons and four daughters. One of the daughters was the second wife of her cousin, Hon. Henry L. Pinckney. His son, David, married his cousin, the daughter of Governor Charles Pinckney, and his son, Dr. James Ramsay, married his cousin, Miss Laurens, and by her had two sons, both died young and unmarried. David Ramsay, the eldest, inherited his grandfather's talents and nobility of character; he was opposed to secession, but after South Carolina seceded, like a true patriot, fought in her defence, and was killed early

in the war while fighting on one of the islands near Charleston. If his life had been spared he would have done honor to the name of Ramsay.

The three single daughters taught a school of high repute in Charleston. In their veins were mingled the blood of Laurens and Rutledge with that of Ramsay.

I remember seeing a son of his in the State Senate, and another one an officer in the State Bank. He left no male descendant of the name of Ramsay.

RUFUS CHOATE.

This "wonder and marvel" of a man, as Daniel Webster pronounced Rufus Choate to be, was not only distinguished as a statesman, but pre-eminent as a lawyer and advocate. Mr. Edward G. Parker, of Boston, in his most interesting "Reminiscences of Rufus Choate," says he was a cross between the Yankee and the Greek in character. But there was not a particle of the yankee in his nature, character or genius, although born in Massachussets of Puritanic ancestors. Nor was he Saxon, Celt or Gaelic in his character, appearance and genius, but wholly oriental. His dark, sallow complexion, very slender form, and fiery, excentric impulses, would have stamped him with an Eastern origin. He might have been taken for a Saracen, or a descendant of the wild Bedouin of the Great Desert. He may have had some of the national characteristics of the Greek, and did have their love of learning, their exquisite perfection of language and taste for the beautiful in art and nature, but he had nothing of the cold, calculating, selfish, passionless yankee or New Englander about him. He cared nothing for money, was not ambitious, and had no pride or vanity. He was frank, open, generous and sincere in every word and act of his life, devoted to his profession, literature and the fine arts, and caring nothing for general society. He was kind, cordial and bland in his manners, and loved most devotedly by the people. He was liberal and generous in his disposition, and never denied when sought, an act of charity.

Mr. Parker was his law student on terms of great intimacy with him for a number of years; and like Boswell, the biographer of Dr. Samuel Johnson, he made memoranda of all his conversations. These conversa-

tions with sketches of "the great advocate," and extracts from his speeches, compose the reminiscences embodied in his most interesting book. This is the most valuable and reliable species of biography. It makes you acquainted with the man by his own words, expressions and sentiments. It was said of Mr. Choate, when the news of his death in Canada reached Boston, that "he had left no man on earth like himself." There may have been more living as eloquent as he was, but they did not possess all of his virtues, eccentricities and marvellous characteristics.

Rufus Choate was born in Essex county, Massachusetts, October 1st, 1799, just forty-nine years after the birth of that colossus of literature and law, Theophilus Parsons, in the same county. Old Essex has the honor of having given to the United States two of the most remarkable men that ever appeared in our courts of justice or legislative halls. It is to be regretted that Mr. Parker has not told us more about the parentage, family, and early life of this "wonder and marvel" of a man. We like to know all about the father and mother of a great man, his boyhood and early training, his associates, and how he was brought up. It would seem that the parents of Rufus Choate were poor and humble, and his advantages of early education were not great. He manifested an unquenchable thirst for knowledge in early life, and an ardent wish to secure a collegiate education. This he succeeded in acquiring by teaching school and going in debt. He entered Dartmouth college, the *alma mater* of Daniel Webster, when he was fifteen years old, and was graduated in due course of time with the highest honors of his class.

In college Rufus acquired a high reputation for scholarship and oratory. He said that he studied every night till one or two o'clock. He said to Mr. Parker that hard study was not going to hurt any boy in good health. If he had said that very few boys in good health were ever known to hurt themselves by hard

study, it would perhaps have been more correct. He remained in college as tutor one year after he graduated. Then he entered the law school at Cambridge, and after remaining there two or three months he went to Washington and read law one year in the office of William Wirt, then Attorney-General of the United States. He finished his legal studies in Salem, Massachusetts, with Judge Cumming.

After the admission of Mr. Choate to the bar he established himself in his native county, and his success was very extraordinary. He got into a full practice and took all cases that came. First come, first served, was his maxim. And what is wonderful, is that in this miscellaneous practice all cases taken as they came, civil and criminal, he succeeded in almost every case in gaining the verdict before the jury! He displayed an ability and tact in the management of his cases which was most remarkable. It seems that he understood human nature perfectly. He knew all the jury, and knew how to appeal to each one separately. If he saw a juror inattentive to his argument he went up to him and begged him for his attention. In one case where a Roman Catholic priest was indicted for an assault on a woman on the sidewalk, he contended that it was an unintentional jostling up against her. Looking to one juror who was in the habit of attending prayer meetings and preaching at night, he illustrated the case by a crowd coming out of the church in the dark. To another juror, who was fond of attending musical concerts, looking at him, he compared the jostling to the company running against each other as they retired from the performance. And to a third, who was a politician, he alluded to the rush at such public gatherings.

His manner at the Bar was as remarkable as his tact and eloquence. Although courteous and civil at all times to the court, the jury, his opposing counsel and witnesses, yet he was most impassioned and vehement in his argument and seemed wild in his exclamations.

Without any regard to rule or discipline, he would gesticulate in the most furious manner, throwing his arms in every direction, jumping up and lighting on the heels of his boots, and bending and twisting his body in all sorts of shapes! There was nothing studied or graceful about him. Sometimes he would come into court with three or four coats on of different colors. In the course of his argument, as he became heated by his exertions, he would pull off one coat, then another and another. When he moved to Boston, and commenced practicing in that sober, steady and polite city, his manner was very much ridiculed by the other members of the Bar; but his success in gaining all of his verdicts began to alarm them.

As a lawyer his reading was general, profound and perfect. He had a most retentive memory and could cite case and principle without any hesitation and correctly. He studied his cases thoroughly out of court, and always came into court prepared at every point. He never brow-beat a witness, or was rude to them in his cross-examination. But with the utmost politeness and a tact that was wonderful, he never failed to catch a witness who was swearing falsely. If he saw that the witness opposed to him was giving his testimony correctly, he seldom cross-examined him. He said that to make a witness repeat what he had testified to in his examination in chief, was only impressing the facts on the minds of the jurors. And very often by a rigid cross-examination the witness would state facts and circumstances against his case which had been forgotten in his direct examination. He never argued a case to make a display of his learning or eloquence or to gain reputation at the Bar. All that he thought of or cared for was to get the verdict, and to this his whole soul and all his energies were directed.

It is said that Daniel Webster was only great on great occasions but that Rufus Choate was great on all occasions. He exerted himself as much in a small case

and was as learned and eloquent in its argument as if it had been a case involving thousands of dollars or life itself. He cared nothing for money and was moderate in his charges and neglectful in collecting his fees. He said that a lawyer should not only be learned in his profession but that he should make himself thoroughly acquainted with all literature and all sciences. He was himself most learned in all classical literature, in all history and every branch of human knowledge. He seldom went into company but spent all of his leisure time in his library, which was very extensive. He was constantly buying books and fitting up shelves for them. For a rare work he would give any price. On one occasion he instructed a friend to attend an auction and bid as high as ten, fifteen and twenty dollars for certain books; but there was one work to be sold which he told him to purchase at any price. This work sold for ten cents. No one else seemed to value it as highly as he did.

His habit was, after his success at the Bar, to go to bed at ten o'clock and rise at six in the morning and take a walk of a mile or two before breakfast. He abandoned his college habit of sitting up till one or two o'clock at night. In this he was wise or he could not have lived. There is nothing like sleep to restore the worn out energies of body and mind. It is true that some men require more sleep than others, but as a general rule the division of time should be eight hours in twenty-four for sleeping, eight for relaxation and eight for study and business.

Mr. Choate served one term in each branch of the Massachusetts Legislature and one term in the House of Representatives of the United States, and he was elected to fill Mr. Webster's vacancy in the Senate of the United States when Webster accepted a seat in President Harrison's cabinet. Whilst in the House of Representatives he made a very able speech in favor of a moderate tariff. This was in 1832, when it was proposed to reduce the duties on imports. He admitted

the tariff laws were injurious to the South, but to reduce the duties at that time would work a much greater injury to the manufacturing States. He said Massachusetts was opposed to protection in its origin, but after it had become the settled policy of the government, she withdrew her capital from commerce and invested it in manufactories. To withdraw this protection now would be the destruction of her manufacturing interest, which had been built up on the faith of the government.

In the Senate of the United States, Mr. Choate made a speech again in 1845, against the reduction of duties, and in favor of the rejection of Governor McDuffie's bill for that purpose. He also made a speech during the same session of the Senate against the constitutional right of admitting Texas into the Union under the treaty making power. As a specimen of his style of speaking I will give an extract of a sentence or two from that speech. "He held that we could not do this though it were ever so high an object of protection. We could not do it if it insured a thousand years of liberty to the Union. If this Texas annexation were to work all these incomparable and inconsistent and impossible good things—if it were to establish a millennium in every part of the earth, and furnish a good monopoly for Pennsylvania iron and Massachusetts shoes—if it should produce all the cotton and sugar in the world, and be tilled only by the hands of the free—if, like the fabled garden of old, its rivers should turn out to run pearls, and its trees bear imperial fruit of gold—yet even then we could not admit her." To all these temptations he had but one answer—how could he do this and not sin against the Constitution. He cleaved to the constitution and abstained from any discussion upon the grounds of expediency.

In many respects Mr. Choate was a Southern man, and it would have been happy for him if he had been born at the South. He said "Massachusetts politics are narrow. In moral point of view, she has no

right to touch the subject of slavery. These zealots forget that there may be conflicting duties, and that it is duty to support the compromise of slavery, to secure universal peace and prosperity. Massachusetts continually breaks the *foedus*. Southern States, homogeneous in productions and characters peculiarly adapted form a separate State. Southern leaders are now busy on that really delightful task, the creation of a new commonwealth. New England is somewhat anti-progressive against acquisition of territory and free trade. She should catch that great gale of impulse, enthusiasm and enterprise, which is ever agitating and giving tone to America."

He believed in State rights, and did not think that a State could be whipped back in the Union. He said, "In Kansas blood will be shed yet, but that is not the great danger. The danger in our Union is that a State's *quo* (or) a State in its sovereign capacity shall declare war and take the field. Whenever a State *quo* (or) a State, shall come out against the national government, we can't do anything; for that which ordinarily would be *treason* is, as it were saved from being so by the flag of the State; certainly at least so far as to save the point of honor. *Herein lurks the great danger of our system of government.*"

When Colonel Fremont was nominated as a sectional candidate for the Presidency, he came out boldly against him, and for Mr. Buchanan. He observed, "every duty and taste is against this party of the sections. They will conduct a canvass, every speech of which will be charged with hatred—to one portion of the country. I will never march in their party; I have never yet seen, however, the good argument that slavery wasn't better for the blacks than freedom, as regards merely their sensations—the gratification of their merely sensual wants." He said he felt it clearly to be his duty to support Buchanan, for the Fremont party was a sectional, anti-Union party, and nothing should be left undone to defeat it.

Mr. Choate's conversations with Parker, in reference to public men and the classics, is particularly interesting and instructive. He said: "The Demosthenian is the style for oratoric success before the people—sharp and strong—might he less hold. You mustn't read lives with the idea of getting any facts. It's all a splendid romance. Horace and Juvenal are for the Bar. Virgil contains nothing for quoting there, so terse, pithy, sententious. Macaulay is not a historical style—an essayist; his glitter wearisome in a history. Hume and Robinson are both superior for style.

"Napoleon, if he had not been employed in public affairs, would have become a great mathematician, a La Place. Cæsar, the most remarkable man of the world, with all his revels, must have immensely labored. Erskine will live in the speeches reported by himself. Cicero on his eternal writings. Erskine spoke the best English ever spoken by an advocate. It was learned from Burke and Milton; it's the finest, richest, and most remarkable English extant. Burke will live for ever. Brougham's style is very classic. Webster's idiom is not at all classic. Clay's reputation, he thinks, is ephemeral. Webster has as living and enduring a reputation as that kind of fame ever reaches. Brougham has more talent and is less self-indulgent, but will not live so long in memory. You ought to read Tacitus over and over to catch his idiom. These terse writers have the style which the Bar should affect; the Ciceronian is too diffuse and loose.

"Sir Robert Peel had not either that heroic order of mind which wins the support most delightful to the magnanimous spirit, that of free, unrewarded admiration. His eloquence lacked the *Direna mens*, the burning enthusiasm, the breathing thoughts, which sweep like tempests over minds. His was an adaptive, not a creative mind.

"Pope in English, Horace in Latin, have the mastery of the finesses—the exquisite niceties, the *curiosa felicitas*

of speech. Mistake to think Burke was not, in his prime, a great orator. Erskine was a very vehement speaker. In addressing a jury he would sometimes jump up and knock his feet together before he touched the floor again. He was very judicious in his forensic fights, never made a blunder. The management of his cases, too, was admirable. Master of every art and trick, and subtlety and contrivance.

"Webster in his prime was a prodigious orator. He can give an effect to single passages greater than any man I ever saw. Clay was a great orator. His language was as an absorbing mind would naturally pick up in thirty years' intimacy with thoroughbred men. It is quite equal to William Pitt's. I have seen him in the middle of a speech in the Senate completely *plobbergosted* for want of a pinch of snuff—the only stimulus I ever knew him to use. Calhoun was a great reasoner and logician, arid as a desert, no pretensions to genuine eloquence. He stood up straight and spoke clearly some thirty minutes generally. He spoke as Euclid would have spoken. He was full of fine-spun distinction, but lacked in later days common sense.

"Demosthenes had in addition to iron logic and massive reason, an awful vehemence, perfectly tempestuous and boisterous; a diction every word of which was clean cut and sterling like stamped gold; a harmony of numbers also. Legan's article in the New York Review on him is the best thing ever written in English about him. He was very common sense and straightforward.

"Judge Woodbury is in many respects remarkable. Used to study sixteen hours a day, always very laborious—traveled with a book—studies too much—overtasks and clouds his mind. Used to sleep on a board in order not to prolong his repose. Singularly deficient in taste and accomplishments in *belles lettres*, and polite letters and literature generally.

"When I was with Wirt, I heard Pinckney speak

three days. The first two days he tore himself all to pieces; but the third day, with his vast command of words rolling out, it was inexpressible music. He had a tough head. Judge Story's English was very common place and wishy-washy. His was a mere fluency, a rattle-clap common English. He never had time, amid his splendid legal accomplishments, to enlarge his vocabulary.

"William Pitt was indebted for his charm of oratory mainly to his voice and his periods. These were equally and sometimes beautifully balanced, and most harmoniously constructed. The musical tide rode on with a fine flow. Macaulay's speeches, with their exquisite art of composition, were in the House of Commons very effective and captivating. Chatham's studies were very wide. His English is vastly before his son's. Bolingbroke is rich and glorious. He had a Cæsar's head. Kossuth was truly a most eloquent man. He has warm sensibilities and ardent imagination, and, more than all, an object of impassioned interest to him and to us."

Mr. Choate was in the Senate of the United States from 1841 to 1845, and during that time made brilliant speeches on the tariff, Oregon, California, the Bankrupt Law, and the Courts of the United States. He was not, however, a very frequent debater. It was not his appropriate field. He preferred being in court and before a jury, where he could gain verdicts by a sort of mesmeric eloquence. He returned to the Bar, and continued to practice his profession with pre-eminent success. He was frequently called upon to deliver orations and addresses before the people on important occasions. He delivered an oration on the death of President Harrison before the people of Boston, in Faneuil Hall. On the death of Mr. Webster, who was his most intimate and bosom friend. Dartmouth College called on him to deliver an eulogy on the illustrious pupil and graduate of that institution. The citizens of Boston wished him to do the same thing in Faneuil Hall. But he declined

this last invitation, thinking that his oration would be more appropriate delivered within the walls of his and Mr. Webster's *Alma Mater*. July 4th, 1858, he delivered an address before the young men's Democratic club of Boston. When the Republican party became a sectional party Mr. Choate left it and joined the Democrats. His great and noble heart was too large and his patriotism too broad to be confined to New England. He was a statesman and not a politician. He loved the whole Union, and was not disposed to oppress or insult any portion of it.

The handwriting of Mr. Choate was as remarkable and extraordinary as his genius or eloquence. There was never anything like it in chirography, except the hieroglyphics on the Chinese tea chests sent to "the outer world." It was impossible for one unacquainted with his marks and scratches to decipher his handwriting. It looked something like a spider had crawled over the paper after getting out of an ink bottle.

In person Mr. Choate was tall, slender and ungainly, lank and hollow-visaged, with a brilliant, dazzling eye, deeply sunk in his coffee-colored face. The hair of his head stood out in a wild, fantastic fashion. His smile, notwithstanding his hard features was sweet, and fascinating. His large head, remarkable for its length, and his broad high forehead, indicated his great intellectual powers.

Mr. Choate died in Canada, July, 1859, where he had gone for his health. Faneuil Hall was draped in mourning, and opened for the reception of the people of Boston when the melancholy news reached that city. Mr. Everett and several other distinguished persons made addresses on the life and character of this great advocate, lawyer, statesman, scholar and patriot.

FISHER AMES.

There were few eminent statesmen of his day and time more distinguished as an orator than Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts. In olden times there were brilliant extracts from his speeches published, which were memorized and spoken by schoolboys at their exhibitions throughout the country. He was a fine logician, as well as a wise statesman and eloquent rhetorician. In *American Eloquence*, by Frank Moore, published in 1858, there are two of Mr. Ames's speeches in Congress, given as models of eloquence and statesmanship. The one on the "Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Nations," and the other on "Jay's celebrated Treaty with Great Britain in 1796." In the first he avows himself as the advocate of free trade and opposed to all restrictions on commerce. We ought to be allowed to purchase in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. He says: "Were I invested with the trust to legislate for mankind, it is very probable the first act of my authority would be to throw all the restrictive and prohibitory laws into the fire; the resolutions on the table would not be spared. But, if I were to do so, it is probable I should have a quarrel on my hands with every civilized nation." These resolutions were introduced by Mr. Madison and advocated by him with great zeal and ability.

The speech on Jay's treaty is indeed a model speech for an American statesman, patriot and orator. It contains thrilling bursts of eloquence, with sentiments of the highest honor and principles of the profoundest wisdom. He says: "The consequences of refusing to make provision for the treaty are not all to be foreseen. By rejecting, vast interests are committed to the sport of

the winds. Chance becomes the arbiter of events, and it is forbidden to human foresight to count their number or measure their extent. Before we resolve to leap into the abyss, so dark and so profound, it becomes us to pause and reflect upon such of the dangers as are obvious and inevitable. If this assembly should be wrought into a temper to defy these consequences, it is in vain, it is deceptive, to pretend that we can escape them. It is more than weakness to say, that as the public faith and vote have already settled the question, another tribunal than our own is already erected. The public opinion, not only of our own country but of the enlightened world, will pronounce a judgment that we cannot resist, that we dare not even affect to despise. Well may I urge it to men who know the worth of character, that it is no trivial calamity to have it contested. Refusing to do what the treaty stipulates shall be done, opens the controversy. Even if it should stand justified at last, a character that is vindicated is worse than it stood before, unquestioned and unquestionable. Like the plaintiff in an action of slander, we reach a reputation disfigured by invective, and even tarnished by too much fondling. In the contest for the honor of the nation, it may receive some wounds, which, though they should heal, will leave scars. I need not say, for surely the feelings of every bosom have anticipated, that we cannot guard this sense of national honor, this everlasting fire, which alone keeps patriotism warm in the heart, with a sensibility too vigilant and jealous."

It has been supposed that the Southern States are more congenial and more productive of eloquence than the Northern States. It is true that during the Revolution there were no orators North equal in heart-stirring eloquence to Patrick Henry, John Rutledge, and Richard Henry Lee. And since the Revolution, Henry Clay, Robert Y. Hayne, William Pinckney, and Hugh S. Legaré have scarcely had their equals in any of the Northern States. Buckle, in his *History of Civilization*,

a work of the greatest ability and learning, and the most profound philosophy and original thoughts, says that climate, soil, food and aspect of the country have their influence on the characteristics of every people. He contends that a southern country has been more favorable to and productive of eloquence, poetry and painting than a northern clime; and that the latter has been more productive of science and learning. Italy, Spain and Portugal have excelled in poetry and painting, without producing a single man of pre-eminent science and learning or philosophy. In ancient times the two greatest orators of the world, Demosthenes and Cicero, and the greatest poet of any age or country, Homer, were born in Greece and Rome, southern nations. But in modern times the North has produced a Bacon, a Newton, and a Descartes, who stand unrivalled in learning, philosophy and science.

There is no doubt that climate, soil, food and the general aspect of the country have their influence on mankind. All history proves it. The eastern countries have ever been distinguished for imagination. And all the great religions of the world, the Buddhist, Hebrew, Christian and Mohammedan, have had their origin in the East. But the North has not been altogether deficient in brilliancy of imagination; Milton and Ossian, and Shakespeare and Byron as poets, and Burke as an orator, have not been surpassed. So, too, in the United States, the North has produced more brilliant poets than the South; and as orators, Fisher Ames, and Sargeant and Prentiss, are the peers of any Southern orators for eloquence. Prentiss died when he was only forty-one. He was born and educated in Maine, moved to Mississippi after he had commenced the study of law, served one or two sessions in Congress, and made innumerable stump speeches. For brilliancy of imagination and thrilling eloquence he had no superior. He was a cripple, and the most timid and bashful man in society that ever was, and yet in speaking he never knew what timidity or

embarrassment was! He used to say that if let down on the woolsack, in the English House of Lords, he would not feel the slightest hesitancy or embarrassment in addressing that illustrious body of peers!

Fisher Ames was born in Dedham, Massachusetts, April 9th, 1758, and graduated in Yale College when he was only twenty years old. He lost his father early in life, who was a physician of skill and learning, and a gentleman of wit and brilliant conversational powers. After graduating, Fisher taught school—like John Adams and many other distinguished men—for several years. He then read law, and wrote several political essays over the signatures of "Brutus" and "Camillus," which attracted great public attention, and introduced him to the leading men of Boston. He commenced the practice of his profession in his native town of Dedham, and soon became famous for his forensic displays at the bar. He moved to Boston and was elected a member of the Massachusetts Legislature. When the State Convention was called, in 1787, to consider the adoption of the Federal Constitution, he was elected a member of that body, and took an active and conspicuous part in advocating the adoption of the Constitution.

The convention was composed of three or four hundred members, and almost all the leading men of Massachusetts were members of it. Fisher Ames was then, comparatively, a very young man; and yet no one in the convention argued the questions mooted with more ability than he did. His speech in favor of biennial elections was clear, lucid and convincing. When he had finished, the venerable Samuel Adams, who was opposed to that clause in Federal Constitution, expressed himself satisfied by the argument of Mr. Ames. In the course of his argument he said: "Faction and enthusiasm are the instruments by which popular governments are destroyed. We need not talk of the power of an aristocracy. The people, when they lose their liberties, are cheated out of them. They

nourish factions in their bosoms, which will subsist so long as abusing their honest credulity shall be the means of acquiring power. A democracy is a volcano which conceals the fiery materials of its own destruction. These will produce an eruption, and carry desolation in their way. The people always mean right, and if time is allowed for reflection and information they will be right. I would not have the first wish, the momentary impulse of the public mind become law; for it is not always the sense of the people, with whom I admit that all power resides. On great questions we must first hear the loud clamors of passion, artifice and faction. I consider biennial elections as a security, that the sober second thought of the people shall be law. There is a calm review of public transactions which is made by the citizens who have families and children, the pledges of their fidelity. To provide for popular liberty, we must take care that measures shall not be adopted without due deliberation. The member chosen for two years will feel some independence in his seat. The factions of the day will expire before the end of his term."

The last speech of Mr. Ames in the convention, just before the vote of the adoption of the convention was taken, is a most able and eloquent one. He expressed the belief that the American Republic would one day contain fifty millions of people. That day has already arrived.

Mr. Ames was elected a member of the first Congress under the Federal Constitution from the city of Boston, and continued in Congress eight years successively, during the whole of Washington's administration. And there was no abler or more devoted supporter of that administration than he proved himself to be. He rose above the mere politician and partisan in all of his speeches, and showed himself a statesman and patriot of the highest order, wise and liberal in all his views. He opposed the tax on the importation of Africans,

although he said he detested slavery. His speech on the United States Bank is one of surpassing ability. He said the clause in the Constitution giving Congress power to pass laws to carry the enumerated powers into execution gave no new power, but clearly showed that implied powers were contemplated in the Constitution. They were exercised necessarily every day by Congress, and he mentioned a great many of them. The right of Congress to govern the Western territory was not expressly granted, but implied by the nature of the case, or from the power to regulate the property of the United States. Under the power to regulate trade Congress has taxed ships, erected lighthouses, and made laws to govern seamen.

On passing a law for the naturalization of foreigners, Governor Giles, of Virginia, moved that if any of them held a title of nobility they should renounce the same under oath. This produced great excitement in Congress when the yeas and nays were called. They who were opposed to the motion did not like to record their votes for fear it would go out to the American people that they were in favor of an order of nobility, and be dubbed aristocrats. Mr. Ames spoke against the motion, and said it would amount to nothing, that they relinquished nothing which they could hold in the United States. Mr. William Laughton Smith, of South Carolina, pronounced the proposed amendment as wholly incompetent to the end it professed to have in view. The people might still call a nobleman "my lord" after he had renounced his title, and no one could punish them for it. Governor Giles's amendment was carried by 59 yeas against 32 nays.

After serving eight years in Congress Mr. Ames retired, with a brilliant reputation as a statesman and orator, and determined to resume his profession at the bar. But in a short time he was forced by ill-health to retire to the country, and amuse himself by rural pursuits. He had married, when thirty-four years old,

Miss Frances Worthington, of Springfield, and his domestic life was a most pleasant and happy one. He was very much alarmed in his retirement for the condition of his country, on account of the French Revolution, and wrote several political essays setting forth the danger of French influence on our republican institutions. He was a strong Federalist, and saw the downfall of that party, and imagined that his country was destined to fall with it. During this gloomy period of his mind he was in the last stages of consumption.

His life and writings have been published by his son, Seth Ames, and his letters show that he was "one of the liveliest, wittiest, and most graceful of letter-writers." He was elected President of Harvard University, and declined the high honor on the ground that his habits and education did not fit him for the position. It is very seldom that the appointee of a high and honorable office gives such a reason for not accepting it. He was honored by the college of Princeton with the degree of Doctor of Laws. On the death of Washington he was selected by the people of Boston to deliver an oration on his life and character. "In private life Mr. Ames is described by those who knew him best as one of the most charming and fascinating companions. His appearance was attractive, his manners gentle and prepossessing, the play of his wit and imagination brilliant and incessant. His private character was absolutely without spot or blemish. It might be said of him, as Lord Chesterfield wrote of the elder Pitt, 'his private life was stained by no vice, and sullied by no meanness.' In person Mr. Ames was tall and well-proportioned, his countenance handsome, and his eyes expressive. In debate his manner was animated, and he readily became excited."

Mr. Ames died in 1808, in the fiftieth year of his age. What he would have been had he been blessed with health and a long life we may well imagine from his short and brilliant career. His mother was a

remarkable woman. She was left a widow in early life, with five children, under very straitened circumstances ; but she determined, on account of his precocity and love of learning, to give her son Fisher a good education. This she did, as I have already stated, and she had the satisfaction of knowing that her maternal care and honesty had not been bestowed in vain. There can be no greater pleasure on earth to a fond mother than to see her son honored and distinguished for his virtues and talents. Nor can there be a more heartfelt satisfaction to an honored son than to thus gratify his mother. When Hugh S. Legare made his great speech in Congress on the sub-treasury, and received the cordial congratulations of his friends he said, with tears in his eyes, that his highest pleasure would be to know that his mother was gratified by his first effort in Congress.

The family of Fisher Ames was one of the oldest of Massachusetts' settlers, and is very numerous at the present time in that state. Well may Massachusetts, Virginia and South Carolina be proud of the illustrious sons they have given the Republic.

WILLIAM WIRT.

This great man and distinguished gentleman was more eminent as a lawyer, orator and writer, than as a statesman. He was, however, a statesman also. He served two years in the Virginia Legislature, twelve years as Attorney-General of the United States, which is a political as well as a legal office, and he was once a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, in opposition to General Jackson and Henry Clay.

The life of William Wirt has been written by John P. Kennedy, Secretary of Navy under President Fillmore, and author of *Horseshoe Robinson* and several other interesting novels. This charming work, in two volumes, dedicated to "The young men of the United States who seek for guidance to an honorable fame," has already gone through several editions, and is a valuable accession to the literature of our country. Mr. Kennedy is a polished writer, and was himself a scholar, statesman, and gentleman. His brief dedication of "these memories" to the young men is most appropriate, for they could not have a better "guidance to an honorable fame" than the pure and brilliant life of William Wirt. He rose from a poor, friendless orphan boy, by an honorable and laborious life, to the highest pinnacle of fame as a lawyer, advocate and orator, loved and admired by all who knew him.

William Wirt was born November 8th, 1772, in Bladensburg, Maryland. His father, Jacob Wirt, was a Swiss, and his mother was a German, says Kennedy. But Wirt says his mother was born in Switzerland. Her parents perhaps were Germans. Old Jacob Wirt kept a tavern in Bladensburg before and during the Revolutionary War. He died in 1774, when William

was only two years old. In his will he gives his wife, Henrietta, "one-half lot of ground in Bladensburg, No. 5, on which the Billiard-room is built, and on which I am now building a new house." The will likewise mentions a brick store and "my tavern in which I now reside." The whole property was worth three or four thousand dollars, and he had six children. William was the youngest. Peter A. Carnes, a member of the Maryland bar, and a planter of some means, took charge of the estate. He had been a frequent visitor, says Mr. Kennedy, at Jacob Wirt's tavern, and had formed an attachment for the family.

This lawyer and planter, Peter A. Carnes, of Maryland, is well known in the early history of South Carolina, after the Revolutionary War. He removed to Augusta, Georgia, and was admitted to the Charleston bar in 1785. He was a great wit and humorist, and a man of decided talents. Chief Justice O'Neill, in his *Bench and Bar* and *Annals of Newberry*, mentions a good many of his witticisms and jokes. He says Carnes told Chief Justice Rutledge and other boon companions, at Ninety-six, "that he began life as a house-carpenter, next tried his hand as a millwright, then as a manufacturer of balloons! Neither of these prospering, he became a Methodist exhorter. Here again, he failed, *which drove him to the bar.*" He made a large fortune by his last profession, and died in Augusta. William Wirt was his *protége* for several years, and was educated by him. After Carnes removed to Augusta he wrote for Wirt and his sister Elizabeth to come to him and he would protect them. The sister went, who was then a young woman grown, and he married her. The mother of Wirt had been dead several years.

When William Wirt was forty-two or three years old he commenced writing his autobiography for the amusement of his children. He brought it down only to his tenth year, and his professional labors prevented his continuing this history of his life. This is to be regretted,

as the autobiography of a great man is always more interesting than his life by anyone else. He can tell all the little incidents of his life and describe his feelings, which add so much to the interest of biography and which no one else can tell or describe. This was remarkably the case with Franklin and Goethe in their fragments of autobiography.

Mr. Kennedy has given extracts from this autobiography of Wirt, which are exceedingly interesting; and every one will regret, on reading them, that he did not give the whole. He tells of his learning to beat the drum when he was only three or four years old; that the soldiers gave him money for his performance, and his mother scolded him for receiving it. He tells of his love of music and dancing at his early age, and his being regarded as a sort of genius. He gives an interesting account of his going to several schools, and graphic descriptions of his teachers and the persons with whom he boarded.

But the most interesting extract from this autobiography is an account of his first love scrape, when he was only ten years old. Whilst boarding at Mrs. Laws's, he became acquainted with her little niece, Peggy Reader, nine years old. He says she was the most beautiful creature he ever saw in his life. They both fell desperately in love with each other, and solemnly engaged themselves to get married next Easter. Here the extract abruptly ends; we are not told what became of the little girl. Wirt had a very strong attachment for his early friends throughout life, and there is no doubt that he never forgot this little sweetheart.

After finishing his classical education with Mr. Hunt he was invited by Benjamin Edwards, who was a member of the Legislature of Maryland, and had a fine library, to become a private tutor in his family. William Edwards, afterwards Governor of Ohio, was one of his pupils. Benjamin, the old gentleman, moved to Kentucky, and he and Wirt corresponded for thirty or forty

years. All of Wirt's letters given in Kennedy's life of him breathe a most devoted and filial affection for the old gentleman.

When he was sixteen or seventeen years old he made the journey on horseback from Maryland to Georgia to see Peter Carnes and his sister Elizabeth, living in Augusta. He spent the winter with them, and returned to commence his legal studies with Mr. Hunt, the son of his old schoolmaster. After his admission to the bar he was persuaded to establish himself as a lawyer in Virginia. He lived in the family of Dr. Gilmer, an accomplished gentleman, and the associate of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. In this way he became early acquainted with these great men, and was respected, honored and loved by them through life. He says his library, on going to Albemarle County to commence his profession, consisted of Blackstone's Commentaries and Tom Jones.

Dr. Gilmer had a fine library, and likewise a beautiful daughter. Wirt fell in love with both, and married the daughter. In the course of three or four years she died without children, and he was so broken-hearted that he determined to leave Albemarle and establish himself in Richmond. He was there elected Clerk of the House of Representatives. His habits became bad, but not so bad, says his biographer, as they have been represented to be. Like most widowers and widows, who try to mend their broken hearts as soon as possible, Wirt became engaged to Miss Camble, the daughter of a prosperous merchant in Richmond. The father was fearful of Wirt's habits, and kept him for some time on probation before marrying his daughter. During this time he went one morning to Wirt's office, and found him and two or three boon companions in a glorious debauch. They had sat up the whole night, and Wirt was standing in the middle of the room in a loose gown, with a pewter basin on his head for a helmet, and a poker in his hand, making a speech and representing Falstaff.



In a short time, however, after this drunken frolic, Wirt was unanimously elected Chancellor of the State of Virginia by the Legislature. This indorsement and honor induced Mr. Gamble to consent to the marriage of his daughter; and never was there a more happy marriage. They were devoted to each other, and prospered through a long life. She was ten or twelve years younger than her husband, and justly felt proud of him. He loved her most tenderly, and did everything possible to make her happy. They had twelve children, and raised seven or eight of them.

When elected chancellor, Mr. Wirt had to live in Williamsburg. He soon found that the salary of a chancellor was barely sufficient to support his family, and there was no prospect of laying up anything for old age or his wife and children in case of his death. He determined to resign his office and move to Kentucky; but waking up one night he found his wife weeping bitterly. She confessed that she was weeping at the thought of leaving Virginia and settling in such a wilderness as Kentucky then was. This was enough for Wirt. He determined to resign his office and move to Norfolk, and he there formed a partnership with Mr. Tazewell.

His practice at Norfolk and Williamsburg was very good; but he and his wife both wished to return to Richmond. They did so about the time Aaron Burr was to be tried there for high treason. President Jefferson employed Wirt to assist in the prosecution. His speeches and arguments in this trial gave him a national reputation. His glowing and beautiful description of Blennerhassett's Island-wife and life, before the intrusion of Burr, has been memorized and spoken by hundreds of schoolboys all over the United States.

About this time Mr. Wirt wrote his *British Spy*, which ran through several editions, and gave him great reputation as a writer. In it he described certain characters which were recognized in Richmond, and caused

him some enemies. He also wrote the *Old Bachelor*, which was not so popular as the *British Spy*. He likewise wrote a series of papers over the signature of "One of the People," in vindication of President Madison, and in reply to an address of John Randolph and other members of Congress assailing Mr. Madison, and urging the election of Mr. Monroe in his stead. With Monroe, Wirt was more intimate than with Madison; but inasmuch as Madison had received the nomination he thought it the duty of every Democrat to support him.

The life of Patrick Henry was also commenced in 1807, but not finished for ten or fifteen years afterwards. He says he found great difficulty in collecting the material for this life. He had never seen Henry, and of course had to depend on the information of others, as to his eloquence, ability, learning and character. The information he received from various sources was quite contradictory, and he had to sift the truth from these different statements. The life, when completed, was very much lauded by the press, and established the fame of Wirt as an author.

He received from Mr. Madison the appointment of District Attorney for Virginia, without any solicitation on his part. In fact he had applied for the office for Mr. Upshur. After the election of Mr. Monroe he was appointed Attorney-General of the United States, and continued to fill that high office with distinguished ability for twelve years under the administrations of Mr. Monroe and Mr. Adams. The acceptance of this office required his removal to Washington, and a separation in some measure from his old and dear friends in Virginia. His practice in his profession was greatly increased, and he was brought into competition at the bar with William Pinkney, Robert Goodloe Harper, Chief Justice Taney and Daniel Webster.

William Pinkney stood at the head of his profession in the United States, and Mr. Wirt was anxious to measure strength with him. When he did so he wrote

his wife rather a vain letter as to his success. It seems from his private correspondence that he was jealous of Pinkney's reputation as a lawyer. There was a difficulty between them which came very near becoming serious; but fortunately it was adjusted and Pinkney soon afterwards died. Mr. Wirt removed to Baltimore after the expiration of Mr. Adams's administration, and fell heir to most of Mr. Pinkney's business. His practice now was immense, and very remunerative. The ardent wish of his heart, to acquire a competency for his wife and children in case of his death, had never been gratified. He made a large purchase of lands in Florida, and sent two of his sons-in-law with their families to take charge of it. He likewise sent there one hundred and fifty Germans to form a colony, and provided them with everything. They all abandoned their contract in a very short time, and left his hands.

On one occasion Mr. Wirt was sent for to argue a great case in Boston. Mr. Webster was employed on the other side. Wirt says, in his letters, that the court room was crowded with ladies, and that he made a grand argument. He says the people of Boston overwhelmed him with their hospitality and kindness. He says they surpassed the Virginians. Having received so many invitations to dine, and so many calls of friends to be returned, he inquired of his client what he should do. "Tell them," said he, "that you are private property, and belong to me till this case is finished." "I will do it," said Wirt. But after the case is over he did accept a great many invitations, and amongst them one from a very handsome, talented lady, whom he had noticed in court. When he was taking leave of her in the evening he said, "Permit me to part with you, as we do in Virginia, by shaking hands." She promptly extended her hand, and Mr. Wirt bid her farewell. But before he got to the door she called to him and said, "I had my glove on, Mr. Wirt, when I shook hands with you. I have now pulled it off, and let us shake

hands again." This time he raised the hand to his lips and kissed it. The gentleman who was with Wirt then said, "Let me, too, take Virginia leave of you." She extended to him the other hand, gloved, and said, "I cannot give you my right hand." She did not wish the kiss impressed on it by Wirt to be effaced.

The nomination of Wirt for the Presidency was an unfortunate movement for him. He did not desire it, and ought to have refused the nomination. It was made by the Anti-masons, in opposition to Jackson and Clay, and he received only seven electoral votes. From that time he seemed oppressed, and began to decline in health and spirits, till his death. He died February 18th, 1834.

Mr. Kennedy's *Life of Wirt* is made up in a great measure with his letters to Judge Carnes, Governor Cohill, Benjamin Edwards, Mr. Pope, Mr. Gilmer, his wife, daughters, etc. The following description of him is given by his biographer: "In the prime of life Mr. Wirt was marked for his personal beauty, with a tall figure, ample chest, and erect carriage; there was no great appearance of muscular strength but a conspicuous ease and grace of motion. His head was large and in good proportion to his frame; the features of his face strongly defined; a large nose, thin and accurately formed lips; a chin whose breadth gave to his countenance an approximation to the square, rather than the oval outline; clear, dark-blue eyes looking out beneath brows of evident compass, and the whole surmounted by an expanded and majestic forehead, imparted dignity and intellectual prominence to a physiognomy which the sculptor delighted to study. A curled, crisp and vigorous growth of hair,—in his latter days almost white,—clustered upon his front, and gave an agreeable effect to the outline of his head and face.

"In his manners, Mr. Wirt was gentle, courteous and winning. His voice was clear and sweet, and variously modulated by an ear of the finest musical perception.

His laugh, never boisterous, was sly, short and full of gayety of his temper. Few men ever had a keener insight of the ludicrous. His conversation was exceedingly attractive. His playfulness was contagious. The simplicity and sincerity of his manners attracted to him the friendship of every class. He delighted in old remembrances of pleasant persons and things. A remark tainted with bad feeling never fell from his lips. He had a great fondness for music.

"Mr. Wirt was a highly cultivated and well-read Latin scholar. He knew nothing of Greek and often deplored his neglect of it. To attain to the highest eminence in his profession was the great aim of his ambition. In earlier life he was remarked for a florid imagination and a power of vivid declamation. His manner of speaking was singularly attractive. His manly form, his intellectual countenance and musical voice, set off by a rare gracefulness of gesture, won in advance the favor of his auditory. His eloquence was smooth, polished, scholar-like, sparkling with pleasant fancies, and beguiling the listener by its varied graces out of all note or consciousness of time."

Such was the character of William Wirt, as drawn by his accomplished biographer's pen. Very few public men were ever more pleasant, charming and lovable. As a friend, husband and parent, he had no superior; and in the latter part of his life a true and devoted Christian.

HENRY LEE.

Colonel Henry Lee, of Lee's Legion, is well known in American history as one of the most accomplished, daring and dashing cavalry officers of the Revolutionary army. His *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States*, a work equal in interest and scholarship to *Cæsar's Commentaries*, has made his name familiar to the reading public of this country. His oration on the life and character of Washington, delivered in Philadelphia, by request of Congress, in 1799, was unsurpassed for eloquence and beauty of diction. One sentence in that oration, in which he speaks of Washington as "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," is immortal. Colonel Lee was also an eminent statesman and devoted patriot.

The father of Colonel Henry Lee was the cousin of Richard Henry Lee and his three distinguished brothers—Francis Lightfoot Lee, William Lee and Arthur Lee.

A writer in the *New Encyclopedia* says that the mother of Colonel Henry Lee was a Miss Bland. This is a mistake. His grandmother was a Bland, but his mother was Lucy Grymes, the early flame of Washington, and his "Lowland Beauty," to whom he addressed his "homespun poetry." In a former sketch of George Washington I have stated how much he was in love with this "Lowland Beauty," and how deeply he was distressed by her rejection of his love. I also mentioned that the remembrance of his woe for the mother was the cause of his great partiality for her young and accomplished son when he met him in the army. Washington's regard for Colonel Henry Lee was reciprocated on his part by the most devoted affection and admiration through life. And the memory of Washington

was almost idolized by Lee after his death. He spoke of him as superior to all other men in his intuitive virtue, patriotism and honor.

The father of Colonel Henry Lee must have been a very superior and accomplished gentleman to have supplanted General Washington in the affections of such a lady as Lucy Grymes. Mr. Grigsby, in his discourse on the Virginia Convention of 1776, says Colonel Henry Lee's father "was an old member of the House of Burgesses, a member of all the Conventions, a member of the Declaration Committee, and a member of the General Assembly. His standing was of the first, before and after the Revolution." Miss Lucy Grymes was a young lady possessed of superior mental endowments as well as personal beauty. Her grandson, General Robert E. Lee, of the Confederate Army, tells us, in his memoir of his father, that she was the favorite niece of her learned and distinguished uncle, Bishop Porteus, of London, and that she kept up a correspondence with him for many years. This correspondence, now lost, the General says was "interesting and beautiful." Colonel Henry Lee was born at Leesylvania, the residence of his father, on the Potomac river, January 29th, 1756. His education was conducted by a private tutor till he was thirteen years old, when he entered Princeton College, then under the Presidency of Dr. Witherspoon.

It is said that he distinguished himself "by a close and steady application to his studies." Dr. William Shippen wrote Richard Henry Lee, in Philadelphia: "Your cousin Henry Lee is in college, and will be one of the first fellows in this country. He is more than strict in his morality, has a fair genius, and is diligent. Charles, his brother, is in the grammar school, but Dr. Witherspoon expects much from his genius and application." This brother Charles was afterwards appointed, by President Washington, Attorney-General of the United States. When Henry graduated, he delivered an English oration on the "Liberal Arts," and received the honors of the college.

After graduating he returned home, and took charge of his father's affairs whilst he was absent negotiating treaties with the Indian tribes. He was then about to set out for England, to pursue the study of law, under the direction of his mother's uncle, Bishop Porteus. But the difficulties which sprung up between the mother country and the colonies made him abandon this idea, and at the age of nineteen he received from Governor Patrick Henry a captain's commission in the cavalry service. He immediately joined General Washington's army, and his company was selected by the General as his body-guard at the battle of Germantown. Captain Lee was distinguished for the discipline of his corps, and the care which he took of his men and horses. He was rapid and daring in all his movements. His capture of Paulus Hook, in view of the British army, with one hundred and fifty prisoners, was a signal achievement, and he was promoted to a majority in consequence of it. He was in a stone building once, with only ten men, and was attacked by two hundred of the enemy. He repulsed them after killing many of their number. He suggested the attack of General Wayne on Stony Point. He was in the battles of Brandywine and Monmouth.

When General Charles Lee, second in command to Washington, was preparing the organization of a legion he said: "Major Lee seems to have come out of his mother's womb a soldier." After the formation of this legion, he was ordered to join General Greene. Congress voted him a gold medal for his brilliant achievement at Paulus Hook. His military career at the South was most important, rapid and dashing; and always successful. At the battle of Guilford Courthouse Colonel Lee greatly distinguished himself, and rendered important services to General Greene. After the battle he suggested to General Greene the daring and hazardous movement of falling back into South Carolina and reconquering the State, whilst Cornwallis was permitted

to march on to Virginia unmolested. Lee and Marion were sent by General Greene to fall upon the lesser posts of the enemy in South Carolina. They captured Forts Watson, Motte and Granby. Lee then reunited his force with General Pickens, and captured Augusta. On his way he surprised and captured Fort Galpin. Lee was as generous as he was brave. Colonel Brown, who commanded the British forces at Augusta, had been guilty of great cruelty towards the Whigs, and they would have taken his life after his surrender but for Lee, who sent him off secretly. He then went with his prisoners to join General Greene, at the siege of Ninety-Six. When the assault was made on the Fort, Lee was successful, but the other division was not, and the approach of Lord Rawdon compelled General Greene to abandon the siege. It is said that Lee's impetuous charge at Eutaw saved the army from defeat. He was then sent with despatches to Washington, and arrived at Yorktown about the time of Lord Cornwallis's surrender.

The war was now in a measure over, and Lee resigned his commission and returned home. He thought General Greene had not noticed him as he ought to have done in his dispatches. The General wrote him a most complimentary and affectionate letter. He said: "Everybody knows that I have the highest opinion of you as an officer, and you know I love you as a friend. No man in the progress of the campaign had equal merit with yourself. Few officers in Europe or America are held in so high a point of view as you are." Greene tells him in one of his letters that he is going home to get married, and intimates that this was the cause of his resignation. It would seem that he was then engaged to his fair cousin, Matilda Lee, daughter of Colonel Philip Ludwell Lee. He went directly from the army to her father's house. General Robert E. Lee, his son, gives an interesting account of this visit in his memoir of his father. Miss Matilda and her sister Flora espied

him at a distance, as he approached the house on horseback with his military servant. She was, no doubt, looking out for him, and lovers may well imagine the joy of their meeting.

After his marriage he settled down at Stratford, the old family mansion of his father, and was appointed by the Virginia Legislature a member of the Continental Congress. When the State Convention was called to ratify the Federal Constitution, Colonel Lee was elected a member of that body, and with President Madison and Chief Justice Marshall was one of its most eloquent advocates. His speeches may be seen in Elliott's Debates of the State Convention.

When the "Whiskey Rebellion" broke out in Pennsylvania in 1797, Colonel Lee had been elected Governor of Virginia, and President Washington appointed him to command the forces which were raised in Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, to suppress this rebellion. Colonel Alexander Hamilton, the intimate friend of Lee, and who was then Secretary of the Treasury, accompanied the army as Lee's aide-de-camp. Fortunately the forces raised were so large that the rebels made no resistance, and no blood was shed. The ringleaders were tried after their surrender, convicted of treason, and pardoned by the President. In 1799 Colonel Lee was elected a member of the United States Congress, and was appointed, as I have already stated, to deliver an oration on the death of Washington. After the election of Jefferson he retired from Congress, and lived like a prince on his estate at Stratford. His hospitality was unbounded, and he became very much embarrassed in his pecuniary affairs. It is said that at one time he was imprisoned on account of his debts. During this interval from public life, he wrote his *Memoirs of the Southern War*, a work which gives a glowing account of all his brother officers and their heroic achievements; and modestly tells his own active services in that war. There is no work written about our Revolutionary war of greater interest.

After the unfortunate termination of the first campaign on the Canada frontiers, in the war of 1812, Colonel Lee was appointed by President Madison a Major-General, to take command of the Northern army. In passing through Baltimore he stopped to see a friend who was editing the *Federal Republican* newspaper. Whilst he was in the office a mob assembled to tear it down. General Lee was not a man to desert a friend in danger, and he assisted in the defence of the house. Two or three of the rioters were killed, which increased their violence, and the city military were called out. Lee and his friend were placed in jail for safety. The mob renewed their attack, tore down or broke open the prison, and shockingly killed or wounded all the inmates. General Lee was most seriously injured, had to abandon his command, and went to the West Indies to recover his health. He found no relief there, and started to return home. He landed on Cumberland Island, near Savannah, and was carried to the house of Mrs. Shaw, the daughter of his old and venerated commander, General Greene, and there died.

This was the sad fate of one of the most gallant and accomplished officers of the Revolutionary army; a gentleman of the highest honor, talents and patriotism. After the death of his first wife General Lee married Miss Ann Hill Carter, an accomplished daughter of one of the wealthiest and most charitable of all noble Virginians. He wrote his factor in England to give a certain amount of the sales of his tobacco to the poor of London, and gave as a reason for this charity that "there were not indigent persons enough in Virginia to enable him to fulfil the great Christian duty of charity." In a notice of his death, the following extract is given by his grandson, General Robert E. Lee: "Died on Saturday, June 28th, 1806, Charles Carter, Esq., of Shirley, aged 70. His long life was spent in the tranquillity of domestic enjoyments. From the mansion of hospitality his immense wealth flowed like the silent

stream, enlivening and refreshing every object around." After the death of his first wife, in 1790, General Lee thought of going to France, to engage in her Revolution, but was dissuaded by his cousin, William Lee, who called the Parisians "savage cannibals." General Washington, also, advised against his going. But, no doubt, the most potent influence exercised over him was that of Miss Carter. When her father understood that he had abandoned this chivalrous project he wrote to General Lee that he now gave his free consent for him to marry his daughter. He said, "As we certainly know that you have obtained her consent, you shall have that of her parents, most cordially, and we think the sooner it takes place the better." This was talking like a frank old Virginian.

By his first marriage General Lee had only two children, who survived their mother, a son and a daughter. The son, Henry, was a man of talents, but his character was very bad, according to the statement in Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, which I have alluded to in a sketch of Richard Henry Lee. He had several children by his second wife. The first one, named Algernon Sydney, after the great martyr of liberty, who was a connection of the Lees, died young. Charles Carter Lee and Robert E. Lee, with one sister, are mentioned in General Lee's letters from the West Indies. These letters, to his son Carter whilst in Harvard College, near Boston, have been preserved, and are published in a third edition of his "*Memoirs of the War*." His son General Robert E. Lee justly styles them "letters of wisdom and love." They should be read by every one, and especially by young men. They are noble letters, inculcating noble principles.

In the first he says: "My dear Carter, I have just heard, by a letter from Henry, that you are fixed at the University of Cambridge, the seminary of my choice; you will there have not only excellent examples to encourage your love and practice of virtue, the only real

good in life, but ample scope to pursue learning to its bottom, thereby fitting yourself to be useful to your country, and to be an ornament to your friends.

"You know, my dear son, the deep and affectionate interest I have taken in you from the first moment of your existence, and your kind and amiable disposition will never cease enjoying and amplifying your father's happiness to the best of your ability. You will do this by preferring the practice of virtue to all other things. You know my abhorrence of lying, and you have been often told by me that it led to every vice and cancelled every tendency to virtue. Never forget this truth, and disdain the mean and infamous practice."

These extracts are noble sentences, inculcating noble truths, and cannot be too well considered by boys and young men and old ones too. There was a maxim amongst some of the Eastern nations that a boy should be early taught three things—to ride, to tell the truth, and to cast the dart. In modern times, and in this Western world, the three most essential lessons are, *to tell the truth, to work and study*. If he will only practice these three virtues, his success in life is guaranteed. The boy who will not study, learn and improve his mind, is sure to be imposed on by the world. The boy who will not work is likely to become a worthless vagabond. The boy who will not tell the truth stands a fair chance for the gallows or penitentiary. It has been said that a man may lie who will not steal, but Shakespeare, the great master of human nature, thought differently.

Again, he says to his son, in another letter: "I repeat my love and prayers for your health and advancement in the acquisition of knowledge from its foundation, not on the surface. This last turns man into a puppy, and the first fits him for the highest utility and most lasting pleasure."

If this be correct as to surface knowledge, there are a great many "puppies" in the world. He says: "Never mind your style, but write your first impressions quickly,

clearly and honestly. Style will come in due time, as will the maturity of judgment." He entreats his son "to arrest any tendency to imitate the low, degrading usage, too common, of swearing in conversation, especially with your inferiors."

In another letter he says: "I would rather see you unlearned and unnoticed, if virtuous in practice as well as theory, than to see you equal in glory to the great Washington. But virtue and wisdom are not opponents; they are friends, and coalesce in a few characters such as his." "A foolish notion often springs up with young men as they enter life, namely, that the opinion of the world is not to be regarded; whereas it is the true criterion, generally speaking, of all things that terminate in human life."

The following sentence I have frequently thought of and conned over in solitude: "To bring the reasoning home to you, your dearest mother is singularly pious, from love to Almighty God and love of virtue, which are synonymous: not from fear of hell—a low, base influence." And the question arises, Can "the fear of hell" carry a man to heaven?

In speaking of his little son, who afterwards became the great Confederate General and the model hero, patriot and Christian gentleman, he says: "Robert was always good, and will be confirmed in his happy turn of mind by his ever watchful and affectionate mother. Does he strengthen his native tendency?"

His letters to his son show that he was a finished classical scholar, and had read with deep interest all the classical writers of Greece and Rome, and England and France. He tells his son that his preference of Milton to Homer was sacrilegious. He preferred Pope to Milton. The one dealt with men, and the other with devils and angels. He thought Hannibal a greater general than either Alexander or Cæsar. Of all the modern European heroes, he thought Frederick the greatest. The manner in which he spoke of Washington showed

that he considered him above all other men. The following expression in one of his letters to his son surprised me very much: "I never could read a novel, because it was a narrative of imaginary action; and yet I have seen many grave men and pious ladies harden their cheeks and exclaim, "How natural, how affecting!" If Colonel Lee had lived after Sir Walter Scott, and Bulwer and Thackeray had written, I think he would have changed his mind.

"What breast is so callous to noble feelings," says Colonel Lee, "as not to pant to become the rivals of Alexander and Scipio in their *self-command*; evinced on the most trying occasions, when even beauty the most captivating, and in their power by the right of conquest, was sheltered from the rude touch of passion, which threw around their names the splendor of virtue, which overshadowed all their glory? In one road only is the youth to walk whose mind is thus ennobled. He must begin with himself when young, and can only become a true disciple of future glory by watching his tongue and purse!

"Let not the first utter a word injurious to truth, decency, or to another's peace, and never suffer want or temptation to induce the wanton disbursement of the last."

The following description of happiness in "these letters of love and wisdom" is too beautiful to be omitted: "But, my dear Carter, what is happiness? Hoc opus, hic labor est. Peace of mind, based on piety to Almighty God; unconscious innocence of conduct with good will to men; health of body, health of mind, and prosperity in our vocation; a sweet, affectionate wife, and sana mens in corpore sano; children devoted to truth, honor, right and utility; with love and respect to their parents; and faithful, warm-hearted friends in a country politically and religiously free. This is my definition of happiness."

Can a better be given by philosophy or religion?
And with this I will conclude my sketch of Colonel
Harry Lee, of Lee's Legion, the accomplished gentleman,
the devoted patriot, the heroic, brilliant commander,
the wise statesman, the eloquent orator, and the
learned scholar, and father of General Robert E. Lee,
of the Confederate army.

FELIX GRUNDY.

Mr. Grundy was eminent as a lawyer and statesman for more than forty years. As a successful advocate in criminal cases he was never surpassed, and perhaps never equalled. It is said in a sketch of his life in the *National Portrait Gallery*, that after his removal to Nashville, Tenn., he was engaged in the defence of one hundred and five capital cases, and never had but one criminal executed. It is doubtful whether any other lawyer in America or England can boast of equal success in his criminal practice. When the professional services of Mr. Grundy were secured in the defence of a capital felony it is said the criminal considered himself safe. He was sent for all over Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Alabama, Mississippi and Illinois, to appear in important capital felonies.

Felix Grundy was born in Virginia, September 11th, 1777. His father was an Englishman, who came to America early in life. When Felix was two years old he moved from Virginia into Pennsylvania, remained there one year, and then moved to Kentucky, where he died in the early infancy of his son Felix, leaving a widow and large family of children exposed to all the dangers and deprivations of a frontier life. He witnessed the death of several of his brothers, and the destruction of his widowed mother's home and property by the Indians. Whilst a member of the United States Senate, in speaking of the sufferings and terrors of the early settlers of the Western States, he said: "Mr. President, I was too young to participate in these dangers and difficulties, but I can remember when death was in almost every bush, and every thicket concealed an ambuscade."

Felix was the seventh son of his father and mother, and at that time there was a superstition amongst the ignorant and uneducated that the seventh son was born to be a doctor, and in obedience to this superstition his mother intended to educate him for the practice of medicine. There was an academy at Bardstown of high reputation, under the direction of Dr. Priestly, afterwards President of the Nashville University. To this school his widowed mother sent him although she was hardly able to bear the expense; but her love for her youngest and favorite son, and his fondness for reading and study, determined her to make any sacrifice in order to give him a good education. At this academy he displayed wonderful talents and aptness for learning. He and his classmate, Judge Bascom, commenced in the lowest class in school and soon passed ahead of all the classes in the academy. Some of the students had been there a year or two. Their application was so intense that their teacher became alarmed for the health of his two favorite and most promising pupils and advised them to relax in their studies and take more exercise.

Whilst at this Academy young Felix displayed such extraordinary talent for public speaking, and was so passionately fond of it, that he no longer thought of his mother's wish that her seventh son should be a doctor. He determined to become a lawyer and cultivate his talent for public speaking. Consequently he commenced the study of law under the direction of Colonel George Nicholas, a man of great eminence, and at that time standing at the head of the Kentucky bar. He was fortunate in gaining the good opinion of this distinguished gentleman, who remained attached to him as long as he lived. Mr. Grundy never forgot, and often repeated in after life the good advice of this excellent gentleman and patriotic statesman. When Grundy first entered public life, at a very early age, Nicholas sent for him and said: "You have now commenced, Mr. Grundy, political life, be honest in all your purposes, and never

deceive the people, and your success is certain." This advice was worth remembering and repeating through a long life, and what a blessing it would be to the people if all our public men could adopt it and practice it. There is no doubt that honesty is the best policy in the long run. But a statesman should not be honest in his purposes and never deceive the people through policy alone, but because it is right and proper for him to be so, whether politic or not. He should be honest in all his purposes and never deceive, although he may know it will make him unsuccessful.

When only twenty-two years old Mr. Grundy was elected a member of the State Convention of Kentucky, called for the purpose of revising the State Constitution. In this body, composed of the wisest and best men of Kentucky, he distinguished himself as an able debater and wise legislator. At that time, in Kentucky, the court sat at a single place to hear cases from four or five counties, which was the case in South Carolina till long after the Revolutionary war. Mr. Grundy thought this a great grievance to the people having business in court, and proposed that the constitution should require a court to be held in each county. Strange to say, all the old lawyers and politicians of Kentucky were opposed to the proposed alteration. The discussion was continued for several days, and although Mr. Grundy was unsuccessful, he acquired great reputation for his powers in debate. Afterwards he succeeded in the legislature in giving to each county a separate court.

Mr. Grundy was a member of the Kentucky legislature for seven or eight years, and then, whilst a very young man, he was elected Chief Justice of the State. He continued in this high and dignified office only two or three years, when he resigned and removed to Nashville, Tennessee. The salary of the Chief Justice was not sufficient to support him and his growing family. His wife bore him eleven children. "I was," says his biographer, "the solace of all his cares and the happy

partner of his fortune." His professional income at Nashville was very large, and he was soon at the head of the bar, though it was composed of very able lawyers.

Whilst in the Kentucky Legislature he and Henry Clay had a famous debate for six days on the Bank question, and finally Grundy was successful in repealing the charter of an insurance company, which was fraudulently exercising banking powers.

In 1811 he was elected to Congress from the State of Tennessee, having been a citizen of the State only three years. He was elected as a war candidate, and took his seat in the House of Representatives at the same time that Clay, Calhoun, Cheves and Loundes took their seats in that body for the first time. What an accession did these five illustrious members make to the House of Representatives! They formed a "war mess" whilst they were in Congress and lived together. They were in fact the authors of the war and but for their influence and talents war would not have been declared against Great Britain. The President, Mr. Madison, was opposed to declaring war at that time, but was overruled by these gentlemen. The New England States were utterly opposed to the war, and it was carried by the votes of the South and the West. It is said that Mr. Grundy was a man of peace, but he preferred the national honor and rights of his country to peace. He served four years in Congress and then voluntarily retired to private life and his profession.

Whilst in Congress, Mr. Grundy was one of the most active and business men in the House, as well as one of the ablest and most eloquent of its members. He was in favor of encouraging domestic manufactures, voted for the embargo, the increase of the army, and was zealous in advocating all measures necessary in sustaining the administration in prosecuting the war. On one occasion he was very happy and severe in his reply to Mr. Webster. He enquired who benefited the enemy the

most, the traitor who went over and joined that enemy, openly and boldly, or the man who, by his influence and conversations, prevented men from enlisting under their country's flag and fighting that enemy? The one committed treason and the other was worse than this open and defiant traitor, for he injured his country ten times as much as the traitor without incurring the penalties of treason on the subject of the "Blue Lights" held out to the enemy, he was rejoiced to see the sensibility manifested by the Connecticut members on this subject, but he still believed there was truth in the rumor!

On the Loan Bill Mr. Grundy made one of his happiest and most eloquent speeches. He had been assailed by the Federal members for saying that they committed moral treason in persuading capitalists not to lend their money to the government. He cut and thrust them on every side, and re-asserted the truth of his assertion. No one can read Mr. Grundy's speeches in Congress during the war without forming a very high estimate of his powers as a debater, and his patriotism as a statesman. He had no superior in a cut and thrust debate, and no one ever attempted to measure arms with him without being worsted. It seems that he was always ready and prepared, like a true knight, for any attack.

In 1819 Mr. Grundy's friends prevailed on him to accept a seat in the Tennessee Legislature, and he continued to serve that body six years, and whilst there adjusted the disputed boundary between Kentucky and Tennessee. When he first went into the Legislature, the distress of the country was such that the members were disposed to pass some relief law. This Mr. Grundy opposed as unconstitutional and unjust between debtor and creditor. But he introduced a bill to create a State Bank to lend money to the people. This relieved their wants and rendered all stay laws and relief laws unnecessary.

In 1829 he was elected to the United States Senate, and made a speech on Foote's resolution, when the great debate took place between Hayne and Webster. In this speech he took the ground that the States were sovereigns and had a right by a State convention to nullify an unconstitutional act of Congress. This act of nullification stayed the enforcement of the unconstitutional act till a Federal convention of all the States would be convened, and then this Federal convention decided on the constitutionality of the act nullified. If two-thirds of the States pronounced it constitutional it must be enforced, otherwise it should not be.

How statesmen and transcendent abilities and patriotism unquestioned—such men as Calhoun, Hayne, Grundy and Jefferson—should honestly entertain a political heresy so absurd, is “to the uninitiated,” as Mr. Pettigru said, “inconceivable.” There is nothing in the Federal Constitution authorizing the doctrine of nullification or secession in the remotest degree, and such a government would, in fact, be a rope of sand, liable to be destroyed by any one of the thirty-eight States which objected to the act of Congress. The right of revolution is the only right which free people can have to resist tyranny and intolerable oppression.

In 1832 Mr. Grundy made a very able speech in the Senate against the tariff and protection of domestic manufactures. It is one of the cleverest and most logical speeches ever made on that subject, showing the injustice of protecting one class of persons at the expense of other classes. Whilst declaiming against the injustice of the tariff, he admitted the constitutional authority of Congress to impose those duties.

On the subject of the Pension Bill of 1832 Mr. Grundy made a speech, urging that those soldiers who fought the Indians, during and after the Revolution, should be included; as being equally meritorious with those who fought the British army.

In 1833 when the nullification of South Carolina and President Jackson's proclamation were under discussion in the Senate, Mr. Calhoun submitted resolutions as to the right of a State to nullify an unconstitutional act of Congress. Mr. Grundy submitted other resolutions as a substitute for Mr. Calhoun's, declaring the constitutional right of Congress to levy and collect duties or imports, and that no State had any right to resist the collection of such duties. In 1832 he admitted the right of a State to nullify an unconstitutional act of Congress; but he contended that the tariff, however unjust and oppressive, was still constitutional; and therefore South Carolina could not nullify it or prevent the collection of duties.

On the subject of receiving abolition of petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, Mr. Grundy advocated and voted for receiving them and laying them on the table. He was opposed to incendiary documents being carried in the mails. He advocated the bill abolishing imprisonment for debt, and it passed the Senate with only four nays. Colonel W. C. Preston, of South Carolina, was one of the four who voted against the passage of the bill.

In 1837 Mr. Grundy resigned his seat in the Senate, and in 1838 was appointed by President Van Buren Attorney-General of the United States. In 1839 he was again elected United States Senator by the Legislature of Tennessee, when he resigned his seat in President Van Buren's Cabinet and accepted his seat in the Senate. In the American Encyclopedia it is stated that Mr. Grundy died before taking his seat in the Senate. This is a mistake. On the 5th of March, 1840, Mr. Grundy made in the Senate a very long and a most able speech on the assumption of State debts. He introduced strong resolutions against such a measure, and showed that it was becoming popular with the Whig party, and he wished to forestall the measure. In this speech, advocating the adoption of his resolutions, he dis-

cusses the question of the distribution of the public lands and the metallic currency question with great ability.

Mr. Grundy died on the 19th of December, 1840, and his death was announced to the Senate by his colleague, Mr. Anderson. Colonel Benton, as well as Senator Anderson, paid very high compliments to the character of the deceased, his talents, his eloquence and patriotism. Mr. Anderson said: "Of his action here, I need not speak. Of one thing I think I am certain, he has left no enemy in this body, and many warm, very warm, and devoted friends, who will long cherish his memory. . . . For his was a spirit ever kind, noble and bland as a summer morning. His eloquence charmed and delighted, often confounded, but never repelled, the admiration of his adversary."

Colonel Benton said: "Mr. Anderson has presented the picture of a good man and of a great man, rising to eminence by the exercise of virtue and talents, and dispensing happiness in the family and social circle while discharging the highest duties of the jurist, the statesman and the patriot."

The following description of Mr. Grundy is taken from the *National Portrait Gallery*: "Mr. Grundy's stature is of the ordinary height; his form inclined to portliness, his complexion ruddy; his hair light brown, mixed with grey, and his eyes blue. His countenance is intelligent and its expression mild, cheerful and benevolent, indicative of contentment and happiness; yet it shows much decision and firmness of purpose. His manners are amiable, unaffected, kind and conciliating in a high degree. His conversation is entertaining and instructive, abounding in humor and playful wit, and occasionally sarcastic and severe. He never permits the excitement of political contention to sour his temper, or to interrupt or embitter his social intercourse. He has, therefore, few personal enemies, and he often finds warm friends amongst his political opponents."

Such a man was Felix Grundy, the lawyer, the jurist, the statesman, the orator and the patriot. Well may three States, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, be proud of him as their son and adopted son. He honored them and he did honor to the whole Union.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON.

The family of Livingston has long been one of the most distinguished families of New York. They are descended from the Lord Livingstons of Scotland. John Livingston, a lineal descendant of the fourth Lord Livingston, was a preacher of the Reformed Church of Scotland, and banished in 1663 for non-conformity. He took refuge in Rotterdam, where he died, leaving seven children. His son, Robert Livingston, emigrated to America, and settled in New York in 1675. He obtained a grant from the Governor for a large tract of land, which was afterwards known as the "Manor and Lordship of Livingston." This grant was afterwards confirmed by royal charter of George I. of England. He was connected with the Schuyler family by marriage. He left three sons. Philip Livingston, one of his grandsons, was a signer of the Declaration of American Independence. William Livingston, another grandson of Robert Livingston, was governor of New Jersey, and a delegate to the first Continental Congress in 1774. John Jay, Chief Justice of the United States, married his daughter. His wife was a daughter of the Revolutionary General Schuyler. Brockholst Livingston was a son of Governor Livingston of New Jersey, Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. Robert R. Livingston, also a grandson of old Robert, and son of Robert Livingston, was the first Chief Justice of New York, and administered the oath of office to General Washington when he was first inaugurated President of the United States. He was afterwards Minister to France, and made the purchase of Louisiana.

Edward Livingston, the subject of this sketch, was the brother of Chancellor Livingston, and likewise

grandson of the old emigrant, Robert Livingston. He was born in Columbia county, N. Y., May 26th, 1764. He graduated at Princeton College in 1781, in a class of only four. The college had, in a great measure been broken up by the ravages of the Revolutionary War, the library was scattered, the philosophical apparatus destroyed, and the college building had been occupied by the British soldiers. Three of these four graduates in 1781, thirteen years afterwards, met each other as members of Congress. They were Livingston, Venable, and Governor Giles of Virginia. Immediately after his graduation, Edward Livingston commenced the study of law at Albany, and was admitted to the bar in 1785. He devoted himself to his profession with unremitting diligence till 1794, when he was elected member of Congress. He had taken a very active part in urging the adoption of the Federal Constitution, which, together with his talents and success in his profession, induced the people of New York city to honor him with a seat in the House of Representatives of the United States, where he continued by re-election for six years. He was, during that time, a distinguished leader of the Republican party in opposition to the Federalists.

In 1796 it was proposed in Congress to give the members a salary of one thousand dollars instead of six dollars per day. This compensation would have been about equal to a session of five months, and half-pay at six dollars a day. Mr. Livingston opposed this measure as unwise. He thought the *per diem* pay of six dollars more just and equitable than a salary of one thousand dollars. Twenty years afterwards this idea of paying the members of Congress a salary was adopted by Congress, and the salary was fixed at fifteen hundred dollars. Every member who voted for it, except John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay, was turned out of Congress at the next election. Now the members of Congress receive a salary of five thousand dollars, and nothing is said about it! Times change, and public opinion changes.

On the subject of Jay's treaty Mr. Livingston took a decided stand against the ratification of it, although Mr. Jay was his brother-in-law. He introduced a resolution calling on President Washington for the instructions given the American minister, which gave rise to a long and able debate. The President declined to give the instructions called for. Then the debate on the execution of the treaty was continued for a great length of time, and Mr. Livingston made a long and able speech against the treaty. It was, however, ratified by a vote of ayes 51, and nays 48.

When President Washington sent his last message to Congress declining to be a candidate for re-election, an address was adopted by the House expressing their confidence in the "wisdom and firmness" of his administration. The address was adopted by a vote of sixty-seven ayes to twelve nays. Amongst those twelve nays are the votes of Andrew Jackson, Edward Livingston and Governor Giles of Virginia. Jay's treaty excited a bitter feeling against the President, and made some refuse to vote for the address. Mr. Livingston likewise opposed the incorporation of a national university in the District of Columbia. He favored a gradual increase of the navy. He introduced a resolution to intercede for the liberation of Lafayette from the dungeon of Olmuts, and made a beautiful speech in favor of its passage; but, strange to say, it did not pass. He opposed the address to President Adams in relation to French affairs, and opposed the arming of merchant vessels of the United States. He advocated a tax on lawyers. He favored making provision for the support of the daughters of Count de Grasse, in consequence of services rendered by their father in our Revolutionary struggle. He spoke ably and earnestly against the passage of the Sedition law as unwise, unjust, and unconstitutional. The bill passed by a vote of 44 to 41. Mr. Livingston opposed authorizing the capture of French vessels in 1799. In 1799 he warmly advocated the repeal of the Alien and

Sedition laws. In the case of Jonathan Robbins, which was discussed for weeks in Congress, he thought President Adams had acted unconstitutionally in taking him from the court in South Carolina and delivering him to the British authorities, who tried and executed him for piracy and murder.

It seems from this view of Mr. Livingston's course in Congress, that he was a warm democrat or republican partisan, and opposed the administration of Mr. Adams, and also that of General Washington, in some important particulars. He was a strong supporter of Jefferson, and was rewarded with the office of District Attorney for the United States in New York. He was also elected Mayor of the city of New York. A devastating pestilence visited the city during his term of mayor, and he stood by his post with great energy and firmness; but he was stricken down himself, and was at the brink of the grave. When he recovered he found his affairs in a bad condition. His agents had proved defaulters to a large amount, and the responsibility of their misconduct fell on him. He determined at once to resign the high office which he held and remove to New Orleans. He arrived there in 1804, and commenced the practice of law, and his talents, learning and ability soon placed him at the head of the bar. In the course of a few years he made enough to discharge all of his liabilities with interest. The Government did not lose a cent by the defalcation of his agents. This was highly creditable to him.

Soon after Mr. Livingston established himself in New Orleans he was appointed by the citizens of the Territory of Louisiana to draw up a petition to Congress for admission into the Union as a State, under the treaty with France, when the territory was ceded to the United States. This petition was drawn with signal ability, and attracted great public attention, but failed of its object. It is said by his biographer that his fortune was very much impaired after a residence of some years

in New Orleans, by Mr. Jefferson seizing his Batteere property, under a misrepresentation of facts and an unconstitutional exercise of his powers as President of the United States. Between him and Mr. Jefferson, who were old friends and political partisans, a fierce controversy grew up, known as the Batteere question. A pamphlet was written by each one of them, and it is said that Livingston's reply to Jefferson was unanswerable. The question was finally decided in favor of Livingston, but it is said his heirs only reaped the advantage of this decision. After many years of bitter ill-feeling he and Jefferson became reconciled. Livingston forgave the injury done him, and the more difficult task was left Jefferson, says Livingston's biographer, of forgiving a man whom he had injured. This is a very philosophical remark, and true.

When Mr. Livingston heard that General Andrew Jackson had been appointed military commander of the post at New Orleans, he wrote him a letter asking him to make his house his home during his stay in the city, and tendering his services as aide-de-camp to the general. General Jackson accepted his invitation, and appointed him one of his aides. The report of General Jackson after the battle of New Orleans was, no doubt, written by Mr. Livingston. It was certainly admirably drawn, and its style was that of a scholar. This, however, was not the only paper written by Mr. Livingston for General Jackson. The celebrated proclamation of President Jackson against the nullification of South Carolina was also written by Livingston, and no abler or more eloquent state paper was ever issued by an American President.

Whilst Mr. Livingston was a member of Congress from New York, he attempted to get Congress to codify the criminal laws of the United States and make them milder. In this, however, he failed. But in Louisiana he was more successful. The laws of that State were a jumble of French, Spanish and English laws. Mr.

Livingston and Mr. Braccon, afterwards senator and minister to France, were appointed commissioners to prepare a code or system of procedure for the courts, and their work was adopted by the Legislature, and has ever since stood the test of experience. Mr. Livingston was then appointed, with three other gentlemen, to codify the municipal law of the State. This was a most laborious and difficult task, which, however, was performed to the great satisfaction of the public. Being a member of the Legislature, Mr. Livingston next introduced a bill to prepare a penal code for the State. This arduous and responsible duty was assigned to him alone, and he discharged it with signal ability. But after he had completed his labors, and given the last finishing touch to the code, it was destroyed by fire, with all of his notes, rough drafts and papers, before it was given to the printers. Not at all disheartened by this terrible misfortune, he commenced his labors again the next day, and completed his great work once more in the course of three years. It is said: "The beauty of its arrangements, the wisdom of its provisions, the simplicity of its forms, and the clearness of its language, equal but do not surpass the philanthropy, the wise views of human character, the knowledge of social intercourse, and the insight into the sources of happiness and misery, by all of which it is distinguished far beyond any similar system of criminal law that has emanated from the jurists of any age or country."

In 1823 Mr. Livingston was elected to Congress from Louisiana. More than twenty years had elapsed since he ceased to be a member from New York. It seems that he was in the House five years, and during that time he made a speech in favor of the claim of Beaumarchais, a Frenchman, who greatly assisted the United States financially during the Revolutionary War. He made a most beautiful speech in favor of a donation to Lafayette. He urged the establishment of a naval school, and said it was absolutely necessary to the suc-

cess and glory of the American navy. On the penal code and crimes against the United States he was able, learned and philosophical. He contended the severity of punishment did not prevent crimes. He himself was opposed to all capital punishment. He said that during the existence of the Roman Republic, for a number of years capital punishment was abolished, and crimes were less frequent than they were afterwards, when capital punishment was restored. He spoke in favor of giving assistance to General Brown's family on account of his eminent services during the war of 1812. On the tariff bill of 1826 he expressed himself opposed to the principle of protection, but advocated a clause protecting the making of molasses. He opposed furnishing the Indians with firearms on our northwestern frontier as contrary to treaty stipulations with Russia, and might have added unwise and wrong *per se*.

In 1829 he was elected by the Legislature of Louisiana a member of the United States Senate, and he was a great accession to that illustrious body of eminent statesmen. His first speech in the Senate was on the famous resolutions of Foote, and it is a speech which every citizen in the Republic should read and study. He dissents from the doctrine of Mr. Webster that this, a popular consolidated government, and also from that of Governor Hayne, that it is purely a Federal compact government, and that a State can nullify an unconstitutional act of Congress. He contends that it is, what every sensible man ought to admit, a government partly Federal and partly national. Sovereignty is divided between the States and the national government, I will give his own language: "This government, then, is neither such a federal one, founded on a compact, as leaves to all the parties" (the States) "their full sovereignty, nor such a consolidated popular government as deprives them of the whole of that sovereign power. It is a compact by which the people of each State have consented to take from their

own legislatures some of the powers they have conferred on them, and to transfer them, with other enumerated powers, to the government of the United States, created by that compact." This is the true theory of our Federal constitution.

In 1831 Mr. Livingston was appointed by President Jackson Secretary of State, and no one in that high and important office ever discharged its duties with more ability and fidelity. The truth of this assertion will appear from his instructions given to our ministers at London, Paris, St. Petersburg, Lisbon, the Hague, Mexico, and the South American States. There is now no doubt of the fact that Jackson's famous proclamation against the nullification proceedings of South Carolina was written by Mr. Livingston, and heartily approved by the President. It is written with great ability and great eloquence, and expresses in patriotic and classical language the true nature of our complex form of government. The principles expressed are those embodied in Mr. Livingston's great speech on Foote's resolutions. In that speech he shows by logical argument and happy illustration, the truth and wisdom of the doctrine announced in the proclamation.

In 1833 Mr. Livingston was appointed by General Jackson minister to France, where he remained until 1835, representing the United States with ability and success in several important matters. He returned home, and died twelve months afterwards, in New York, on the 23d day of May, 1836. It is said he "was a man of very social tastes, great gayety of manners and perfection of temper. Amiability and goodness of heart are always the terms first employed in describing his character by those who remember him." That he was a man of surpassing ability, a great jurist, and a profound statesman all admit. He was a fine classical scholar, and wrote with great purity and taste. He was also an able and eloquent public speaker. His likenesses are not prepossessing; but his forehead is fine,

broad and high, indicating a large volume of brain. It is said that a man's handwriting is some indication of his character. Mr. Livingston wrote a fine, large, bold hand, plain and distinct. His memoir, in the *National Portrait Gallery*, written before his death, says: "The nature of his public course evinces his benevolence and modesty; nor do his writings display, in their admirable simplicity, in the beauty of their language, and in their classical taste, more of the accomplishments of a scholar than in the purity of their precepts and their anxious search for truth, they exhibit a heart filled with the best emotions, and animated with strong desires for the happiness and improvement of mankind."

WADE HAMPTON.

There were very few officers in either the Federal or the Confederate army who acquired a higher distinction in the late unfortunate war for gallantry, heroism and skill than General Wade Hampton. No one had more entirely the confidence of his command in battle, or was more loved and admired by his troops in camp. This popularity has followed him home in peace, and he is now the idol of his old soldiers and the admiration of those brave men against whom he fought in so many bloody fields of battle. There was no one, in the recent Democratic Convention in New York, a greater lion with Northern delegates than General Hampton. Whenever he rose in that body, and his name was announced, he was greeted with shouts of applause. Well may he be entitled, from his high and pure character, to be styled the Bayard of the South. He was the Achilles Murat of the cavalry.

General Hampton was the son of Colonel Wade Hampton, one of General Jackson's aides-de-camp in the battle of New Orleans, and the grandson of General Wade Hampton of the Revolutionary army. In three successive wars these three generations of Hamptons have been conspicuous for their bold and daring gallantry. They were all South Carolinians, and the largest planters in the Southern States. The great-grandfather of the present General Wade Hampton moved from North Carolina and settled in Spartanburg district previous to the American Revolution, and he and his wife, one son and a grandson were all massacred by the Indians at the breaking out of the war, in their own house! Another son was murdered by the Tories, whilst seated at the table with his family, eating their

dinner! After the Revolutionary war was over, General Wade Hampton, the elder, became a most enterprising, energetic and prosperous planter, and accumulated a princely estate in Louisiana, which has descended to his grandchildren. His residence in Columbia was a magnificent one, with beautiful grounds, shrubbery, and garden filled with flowers and exotics, which fortunately escaped the Sherman fires, and is now in the possession of General John S. Preston, who married the daughter of General Wade Hampton the elder. The father of General Hampton was a gentleman of high character, pure honor, large fortune and princely munificence. He was for four years State Senator in South Carolina, and was very often pressed to accept the office of Governor of the State, which he declined time and again. He kept open house at his beautiful residence near Columbia, and entertained crowds of friends with the greatest hospitality. His dinner-parties, which were frequent, were most luxurious entertainments. He was fond of fine horses and blooded stock, and kept them for the turf. He made a great many importations of horses and cattle, and did a great deal to improve all kinds of stock. At a grand fair in Columbia, gotten up by the ladies for some charitable purpose, Colonel Hampton and his daughter were behind a table, spread with everything calculated to tempt the appetite, and dealing the viands out to the visitors. General Waddy Thompson went up to him and said in my presence, "I always knew, Hampton, that you kept a public house all your life, but I never knew you to charge before."

General Hampton, the subject of this sketch, is a gentleman of great literary taste and scholarship. He had the finest private library in South Carolina, and many of the most costly books. I remember to have seen in it several volumes which once belonged to the library of King George III., and in some of them was the royal autograph. This library occupied two large rooms of his dwelling-house near Columbia, and was

destroyed by General Sherman in his march through South Carolina. "Millwood," the beautiful and tasteful residence of his father, had the torch applied to it at the same time. A rare and most exquisite collection of valuable curiosities and relics, statuary and paintings, were consumed in the house or carried off by the Federal soldiers. His plate, which must have been of great value, had, I think, been removed.

General Hampton was for some years a member of the House of Representatives in South Carolina, and made a most valuable business member. He spoke well, and participated in all the debates and discussions of the House. Several of his speeches were reported, and are beautiful specimens of finished composition. The General has delivered a great many addresses before societies and colleges, which have been admired for their taste, moral tone and burning patriotism. He is a remarkably handsome man, with a bright open countenance, indicative of the true nobility of his nature. His manners are gentle, polished and courteous. There is no pretention about him, and his modesty is almost feminine. No one unacquainted with him would suppose he was the bold and daring, dashing cavalier which he has proved himself to be in his campaigns in Virginia and marches into Maryland and Pennsylvania. He is about the ordinary height, stout and well-made for all athletic exercises, capable of enduring any hardship or privation which anyone else can bear. As a horseman and hunter he cannot be excelled. Some of his feats of horsemanship are most remarkable. He has great power, strength and activity. His mind is admirably balanced, and quick to conceive and prompt to execute. In judgment he is always prudent and wise. He was a Union man till his beloved native State seceded. He then tendered his services to the Confederate Government, and got permission to raise a legion in South Carolina. Honor, patriotism and virtue taught him willingly to sacrifice his life if necessary in the

defence of his country and those great principles of self-government for which his distinguished grandfather had fought so gallantly in the American Revolution.

General Hampton visited Greenville in the spring of 1861, and was several days at my house whilst organizing his legion. Two of the first companies of infantry and one of the first companies of cavalry were raised in Greenville district. They served with him for four years, and were discharged at the surrender of General Johnston in North Carolina. Knowing intimately as I do those young men, many of whom were my personal friends, and one of them my son, I have a right to speak authoritatively of their love and admiration for their commander. He hurried on to Virginia, and got there just in time to act a conspicuous part in the first battle of Manassas, and received a most dangerous wound in the forehead. He was for some time disabled, but he continued with his legion, and was ready for service before any other engagement took place.

But it is not my purpose to follow the General through his campaigns. This I leave to the historian. It would occupy too much space for a sketch of this character to even briefly allude to the many hard-fought battles in which he took a conspicuous part. Whilst standing in the New York Convention which nominated Seymour and Blair, a tall, fine-looking cavalry officer of the Federal army came up and enquired if the seats before him were those of the South Carolina delegation? He then enquired if General Hampton was present. We told him that he was not. He said he was desirous of seeing him and taking his hand. They had once met in a bloody battle in Virginia, and he had been whipped. He was anxious to see again the general who had whipped him, and to shake hands with him! A day or two after the Convention adjourned, General Hancock came to New York, and I witnessed the introduction between him and Hampton. Hancock said to him, "We have met before, General." "Yes," said Hampton,

"we met once I know in Virginia." In that meeting Hampton captured twenty-three hundred of Hancock's army! They talked over the battle. Hampton said he had ordered some officer to take such a position, who protested and said he would be cut off. "Yes," said Hancock, "he would have been cut off, for I had command of the road below." "No," said Hampton, "there was another road by which he could have secured his retreat."

Whilst in New York, General Hampton was requested to address a crowd of five thousand persons at the Metropolitan Club, which he did with great success. He described the condition of the South under negro rule, and spoke of the tyranny and despotism of the military satraps who had been stationed in South Carolina. He addressed a large concourse of persons in Baltimore as he returned home. After reaching South Carolina he addressed a meeting of seven thousand persons in Charleston, and also large assemblages in Columbia, Aiken, Fairfield and Greenville.

General Hampton is about fifty years old, and has been twice married. His first wife was the sister of William C. Preston, and his second wife was the only daughter of Governor George McDuffie.

Since writing the above, General Hampton has delivered an oration in Baltimore on "The Life and Character of General Robert E. Lee," which is one of the most admirable addresses of the kind that has ever been made on the death of a hero and patriot. It will be a gem in the history of the great contest in which the Southern States were engaged. Its condensation of the campaign of Lee in Virginia is not surpassed by any chapter of Thucydides on the Peloponnesian war. His portraiture of the great Southern commander is admirably drawn. I heard a gentleman say, after reading this oration, that if General Hampton had never done anything before to establish his reputation for taste and scholarship, this production would give him that repu-

tation. Some time before the death of General Lee, Hampton delivered an address in Lexington, before the college of which he was President. It was a beautiful production, and much admired by Lee and all who heard it or read it after its publication. In reference to it the following little incident was told me by General Hampton, illustrating the playful character of Lee. Hampton was not feeling well the morning he made his speech in Lexington, and General Lee called on him after it was all over, and enquired how he felt. Hampton replied that he felt better, when Lee told him the following anecdote. There was a Scotch clergyman who said to his body servant that he felt too unwell one Sunday morning to preach in church. The servant told him that the congregation were all assembled, and he ought not to disappoint them. He accordingly went, and after the service was over his servant enquired how he felt then. The clergyman said he felt much better. "I thought," replied the servant, "that you would feel better after you got all that trash off your stomach."

General Hampton was twice elected Governor of South Carolina, and then United States Senator, which latter position he still fills with distinguished ability.

THOMAS SUMTER.

General Sumter, General Pickens, General Marion and General Hampton were so distinguished as partisan officers in our Revolutionary war that their civil services as statesmen and patriots seem to have been forgotten or overlooked in speaking of them. General Francis Marion was a member of the Legislature which convened at Jacksonboro, before the British Army evacuated Charleston. This Legislature undertook to confiscate the estates of those loyalists and tories who took an active part against the independence of the colonies. General Marion, who had been one of the most active, persevering Whigs, opposed this measure as unwise and impolitic. Having succeeded in our revolution he thought we should be generous and forgiving to our erring fellow citizens. He thought our true policy, as well as humanity and magnanimity, required the Legislature to pursue that course. When a bill was introduced in this legislature to exempt Thomas Sumter, Francis Marion and other partisan officers from suits at law, on account of any trespasses or illegal acts they may have committed, General Marion rose and said: "Mr. Speaker, I move that the name of Francis Marion be stricken from the bill on your table. He has never done anything in war or in peace that he is afraid to account for in a court of justice." This was a noble expression, worthy of the most illustrious Roman or Grecian sage and patriot. General Harry Lee, in his memoirs of the Southern war says: "General Francis Marion was pure all over." General Hampton was for many years in the Legislature, in the State Convention and in Congress. General Pickens was also a member of Congress, a member of the Legislature

and State Convention. At one election, when he was not a candidate for the Legislature, his name was announced at the polls when opened, and he received every vote given in Pendleton District. He was strongly solicited to accept the office of Governor of South Carolina, and peremptorily refused. His son, Andrew Pickens, and his grandson, Francis W. Pickens, both filled this high office. General Pickens was unselfish and unostentatious, and in character very much like Washington.

The early life of General Thomas Sumter is very little known. His family have been remiss and negligent in giving information in regard to the early and private life of their distinguished ancestors. The author of the *National Portrait Gallery*, wrote to his grandson for information in regard to the sketch, which he was about to publish of General Sumter, and received no reply. It is to be hoped that the Hon. Lyman C. Draper, of Madison, Wisconsin, who has been engaged for years in collecting material for the life of Thomas Sumter, will be more fortunate than the author of the *National Portrait Gallery* was. Mr. Draper is Secretary of the Historical Society of Wisconsin and a literary writer and scholar of eminence. When I had the pleasure of meeting him several year since, I was amused at the minute accuracy of his information in regard to the revolutionary history of South Carolina, and all her distinguished men. When I told him that the Hon. Samuel Earle, who was a gallant officer of the Revolution, and knew intimately Sumter, Pickens and Hampton, and married General Hampton's niece, did not speak so favorably to me of General Sumter, Mr. Draper replied: "Yes, I know that Sumter pressed for his little army, horses, provision, clothing and whatever they needed, wherever he could find it." This was the very charge made by Mr. Earle against Sumter. He paid off his officers and men with negroes, horses and cattle taken from the tories. This, Marion and Pickens

never thought of doing. But, in our late civil war, the Federal officers not only helped themselves in the Southern States to everything they could find which their soldiers needed, but they robbed and plundered everything of value which came in their way, gold and silver, watches and jewelry and plate. The banks were plundered, and even the churches robbed of their sacred silver service.

General Sumter was born in 1734, but where, whether in South Carolina, Virginia or North Carolina, we are not informed. He was a farmer and planter and it is likely his early education was very limited, as was that of most boys of that period. Before the Revolutionary war, Sumter had been Colonel of a military regiment and no doubt had acquired some military reputation. The Provincial Congress in 1776 appointed him Lieutenant-Colonel of the second regiment of riflemen. But it does not appear that he rendered any signal service till after the fall of Charleston in May, 1780. The surrender of Charleston was the surrender of the State to the British army. Many of the most gallant whigs, like Colonel Isaac Hayne, took protection from the conquerors. Mr. Earle told me that he and General Pickens both went to General Robert Cunningham and received British protection. Colonel Sumter did not do so, but fled to North Carolina. There he raised a regiment of rebels and returned to South Carolina.

The first act of Colonel Sumter after his return to his own State was the destruction of Captain Huck, who commanded a large body of loyalists, and seventy or eighty British regulars. He was then appointed by Governor Rutledge a Brigadier General. He had command of about six hundred men; and with this force he made a gallant and daring attack on the British post at Rocky Mount. He failed for the want of artillery in capturing the Fort. His next daring exploit was an attack on Hanging Rock, a British post, garrisoned by five or six hundred regulars, a part of Tarleton's legion,

Brown's regiment and Bryan's corps of North Carolina Tories. He was successful in forcing the enemy from his position. But his men became demoralized by the plunder they captured and the spirits they found in the British camp. The loss of the enemy was very considerable and Sumter's loss very small. He made a successful retreat, and the enemy did not attempt to pursue him. His want of artillery alone prevented his entire success.

General Sumter now acquired the sobriquet of "the game cock of Carolina," by which he has ever since been distinguished. Hearing that a large detachment of the British forces were on their march from "Ninety-Six" to Camden, with stores and supplies for the main army, he applied to General Gates for a reinforcement of his command. He then fell upon the convoy and captured forty-four wagons with a large number of prisoners. His next engagement was a defeat at Fishing Creek. He was surprised and his command entirely defeated. After this defeat General Sumter retired to the upper country, and soon recruited his army. He was attacked by Major Wingo, with a large force, on the banks of the Broad River. He defended himself most gallantly, and destroyed the enemy. His next engagement was with Colonel Tarleton at Blackstock Hill. His defence was a splendid victory, and Colonel Tarleton was forced to retire after sustaining great loss. He then attacked Fort Granby, and would have captured it but for the appearance of Lord Rawdon with reinforcements. He then captured the fort at Orangeburg, and distinguished himself at Monks Corner.

After the close of the Revolution General Sumter was a member of the Legislature, and voted against the call of a Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution. He was a member of the Convention, and voted against the adoption of the Constitution. He was elected a member of Congress when the Federal Government was first organized, and he advocated, in a speech of some mark,

that the permanent seat of the Federal Government should be on the banks of the Potomac. He spoke warmly against giving the President power to remove members of his Cabinet, and said it was a detestable principle, destructive of the Constitution and liberty. In January, 1792, we find him making a very strong speech against reflections cast on the militia of South Carolina by General Greene. In 1793 he makes another elaborate speech on the same subject. In this speech he was very severe on his colleague, Robert Goodloe.

In 1801 General Sumter was elected United States Senator in the place of Governor Charles Pinckney, who resigned, and he was again elected in 1805, and resigned his seat in 1810. Governor John Taylor was elected to fill his vacancy. It is stated, in a sketch of General Sumter, in the *New Encyclopedia*, that he was appointed Minister to Brazil in 1810, and two years afterwards elected United States Senator. This is a mistake, as to the time of his going into the United States Senate. He was first elected, as I have already stated, in 1801, and re-elected in 1805.

"General Sumter was tall and robust, with a bold and open countenance, expressive at once of energy and decision." He lived to be ninety-eight years old, and died in 1832. He retained his faculties in great vigor as long as he lived. I remember seeing a long letter from him to Dr. Symmes, editor of the *Pendleton Messenger*, in 1830, on the subject of nullification and State secession. Dr. Symmes wrote to him to know his views. He expressed himself warmly in favor of the right of a State to nullify an unconstitutional act of Congress, and secede from the Union. The length of the letter, which was a political essay, and the warmth of its tone induced me to believe that one of his grandsons had something to do in its composition. One of these grandsons was shortly afterwards elected a member of Congress from South Carolina, and was a great "fire-eater."

General Sumter had the honor of having a county named after him in South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Alabama. He lived in great retirement during the latter part of his life. His son, whom I remember to have once seen in Columbia, had some foreign mission and married a French lady. He had two sons, both of whom were at different times members of Congress. One of them commanded a company in the regiment of Governor Butler, in Mexico. The grave of General Sumter was greatly neglected for a number of years. I heard a gentleman say he once visited it, and found no monument or tombstone over it. Nothing to mark the spot where one of Carolina's most distinguished Revolutionary officers rested.

In the State Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution, General Sumter was a member, as I have already stated. He was very strongly opposed to the adoption of the Constitution, and moved in the Convention that the consideration of it should be postponed till the action of Virginia was known. This motion was voted down by a majority of forty-six, and a burst of applause ensued, as it was a test vote.

In looking over Lanman's "Dictionary of Congress"—a curious book—giving a sketch of all the members of Congress from the origin of the Government, and a list of all the Foreign Ministers, I see it stated that Thomas Sumter of South Carolina was Secretary of the French Legation in 1801, and Minister to Portugal in 1810. This could not have been General Thomas Sumter, as the writer in the "New Encyclopædia" supposes. General Sumter was sixty-seven years old in 1801, and would not, at that period of life, with his reputation, have accepted such a position under the Government. Moreover, he was by education and habit utterly disqualified for performing the duties of a Secretary.

Again, it is not at all probable that General Sumter would at the age of seventy-seven have accepted a mission to Portugal or Brazil as the writer in the Encyclo-

pedia says. This Thomas Sumter, Secretary of the French Legation and Minister to Portugal, must have been a son of General Sumter's, already alluded to in this sketch. I never before heard of General Sumter having a Foreign Mission, and I have heard all my life of his son holding some position of that kind.

COLONEL BENJAMIN CLEVELAND.

There is an instinct of human nature which prompts us to commemorate the virtues and heroic achievements of the illustrious dead. We delight to honor the memory and sketch the lives and erect monuments to the heroes and patriots who have achieved honor and glory for their country. Such a feeling is not only praiseworthy and commendable in itself, but it inspires the young and future generations with a laudable ambition of emulating the example of their ancestors ; it teaches them to love virtue and patriotism, honor and distinction.

In all civilized nations, from the remotest antiquity, it has been their custom to celebrate on public occasions the hallowed deeds of the great and good. The polished, intellectual and æsthetic-loving Greeks were eminent in their exertions to perpetuate the remembrance of the noble deeds of their great men, their great heroes, statesmen and patriots. Hence their eloquent and thrilling funeral orations, their magnificent monuments, their exquisite statues and their beautiful paintings. A modern historian has said that "a Grecian knew that if he perished in achieving any heroic deeds his country would honor his ashes and watch over his memory ; that his glory, heightened by matchless masters of eloquence, would flash like lightning from the heavens ; that lovely bosoms would beat high at his name ; that hands the fairest in Greece would yearly wreath his tomb with garlands, and that tears would be shed forever on the spot by the brave." The warlike Romans, full of virtue, honor and patriotism, tried to emulate the Grecians in this respect by honoring and glorifying their ancestors. We discover the same national trait dis-

played in the magnificent antiquities of Egypt and all the Eastern nations.

The Chinese have carried this laudable sentiment to excess, and they worship their illustrious ancestors as gods and demigods! In illustrating how strong this feeling is in England, and has been for centuries past, I need only refer to Westminster Abbey. France, glorious and fickle, has shown her appreciation of her heroes and men of science by the magnificent structures in Paris to their memory. Scarcely a distinguished man dies in New England without a biographical sketch being written of him, portraying his virtues, his talents and his public services. In due course of time, a public monument is erected to his memory.

But how has it been in South Carolina? This proud little State has produced as many sons eminent for their talents, genius, eloquence, statesmanship and heroism as Massachusetts herself, the chief of New England, and where are their written lives and public monuments? It must be confessed that we have been culpably remiss in cherishing the memory and recording the virtues of our great men. No life has ever been written of that grand old Roman, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney ("millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute"), whose honor, patriotism and talents may have been equalled, but never surpassed. He rests in his grave without a public monument. John Rutledge, who was pronounced by Patrick Henry to be without a peer for eloquence in the first Continental Congress, and who was clothed with dictatorial powers in South Carolina during the Revolutionary war, never had a monument erected to his memory or a memoir of his life written, till a stranger undertook to write the lives of the Chief Justices of the United States, and, through necessity, had to include that of Chief Justice Rutledge.

In the same neglected category is the name of William Lowndes, the great American statesman, who would have been President of the United States had he lived.

John C. Calhoun, who possessed the mind of Aristotle with the purest virtue, has only had a sketch of his life written as a sort of introduction to his political works, and his grave in Charleston is without a monument. The memory of Langdon Cheves, who was one of the intellectual giants of his day, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, president of the old United States Bank, and Judge of South Carolina, has been utterly neglected. Robert Y. Hayne, the peer of Webster in debate in the Senate of the United States and the idol of South Carolina whilst living, has no public monument nor life written. George McDuffie, who, Colonel Benton said, "was equal to Demosthenes in his prime," is almost forgotten. The same may be said of Hugh S. Legare, the most accomplished scholar and orator of America; James L. Petigru, the great lawyer, loved by all who knew him for his noble heart and great intellectual endowments and learning; William C. Preston, the Cicero of the Senate, and James H. Hamilton, the Bayard of the South. Any one of these names would have been enough to illustrate an era and distinguish a nation.

When we find the memory of such men as I have enumerated neglected and their virtues and public services forgotten, we need not be surprised to know that the heroic achievements and patriotism of Cleveland, Pickens, Williams, Sumter and Marion have never been properly commemorated by their State; no lives of them have been written, except Marion, and no monuments erected to their memory. We are now enjoying the liberty and independence which they achieved for their State and country, and we have almost forgotten their services and sufferings, the blood they shed for us, and the example they set us!

Thirty years ago a gentleman told me that he went to visit the grave of General Sumter, "the game-cock of Carolina," and actually drove his sulky on it before he was aware of the sacred spot! There was nothing to

designate the place where the old hero rested! I remember visiting, when a boy, the grave of Colonel Benjamin Cleveland, on the banks of the Tuguloo, in Pendleton District—now Oconee County—and I found it in the neglected state that Sumter's was, except, I think, there may have been a granite slab covering it; but the brambles and briars and bushes had grown up all around where lay the great hero of King's Mountain! Many years afterwards, in passing through that neighborhood, I inquired of a farmer if Colonel Cleveland's grave was still neglected, and he replied that it looked like an old hog pen! Some one had built, years before, a square pen around it out of pine-saplings and they had rotted down.

I have found great difficulty in collecting material for a sketch of Colonel Cleveland's life and character. The events of his life, like the pine poles which surrounded his grave, have rotted out of the memory of the present generation, and there are few living who know anything about him. My father and Colonel Benjamin Cleveland lived neighbors on Tuguloo River, Pendleton district, South Carolina, for many years, after the Revolutionary war, and until the death of the Colonel. I have heard him speak of "the old Colonel" very often, who died many years before I was born. He said he once visited him, a bitter cold frosty morning, and found him sitting in his piazza, with nothing on but a thin calico morning gown, and that his legs were of a purple color. He said to him: "This is a very cold morning, Colonel Cleveland." "No, no," replied the old hero, "it is a very fine morning, and I have come out to enjoy the fresh morning air." He weighed at that time four or five hundred pounds, and in consequence of his enormous obesity was as insensible to cold as he had been in his younger days to fear.

Colonel Cleveland was one of nature's great men, great in every respect, great in person, great in heart and great in mind. He was a man of extraordinary

judgment, good sense and practical wisdom. He was honest, truthful and honorable, and discharged his duties frankly and fearlessly. Like General Andrew Jackson, when he hung Arbuthnot and Ambrister, in the Florida or Indian Campaign, he was never afraid to take responsibility. Some time after Colonel Cleveland's removal to South Carolina, and whilst the nearest court was held at "Ninety-Six," a notorious tory and horse thief was captured and carried to Cleveland's. His captors wished to know what should be done with their prisoner. The old Colonel told them that the best disposition they could make of him was to take him out and hang him. This would meet the ends of justice speedily and save a good deal of trouble and expense. The fellow was accordingly hung up to the limb of a tree in the yard until he was dead, and then he was cut down and buried.

It is well known that General Butler, of Revolutionary memory, the father of Judge Butler and Governor Butler, and grandfather of our present Senator Butler, did the same thing, at old Cambridge, about the same time. Judge Burke was holding court. General Butler and his friends went into the court house in the presence of the Judge, and took a prisoner out of the dock, and hung him. He was a notorious tory, horse-thief and assassin. It is said his wife came and implored the Judge to save her husband. His Honor, who was an Irishman, replied: "Before God, my good woman, I dare not do so, for they would hang me if I did."

When county courts were established in the upper part of South Carolina, Colonel Benjamin Cleveland, General Andrew Pickens and General Robert Anderson were appointed Judges of the court for Pendleton county. Colonel Cleveland, though a judge, was, like his associates, no lawyer, and had a great contempt for the technicalities of the law and all its delays. His desire was to administer justice promptly and fairly. After hearing the evidence in a case, his clear mind and good sense came quickly to a conclusion, and he did not care to hear

argument. He would frequently take a snooze whilst the lawyers were making long prosy speeches in the case. Being very fleshy, he would sometimes snore so loud in his snooze as to interrupt the proceedings of the court. His associates on the Bench would then give him a hunch and wake him up. These county courts were very Democratic institutions, something like the old Pie Pander courts of England.

In the discharge of his judicial duties, Colonel Cleveland acted according to the advice given by a learned English barrister, to Chief Justice Gordon, of South Carolina. Gordon was an Irishman and had never read law. After his appointment he consulted a distinguished lawyer in London, to know what books he had better read. The lawyer advised the newly appointed Chief Justice not to bother himself with books or law, but to decide every case according to his sense of justice and right. "If you undertake to decide according to law," said this eminent barrister, "you will be sure to make a mistake."

Colonel Benjamin Cleveland was a native of Virginia. He and his brother Robert moved to Wilkes county, North Carolina, after they were grown, and just before the commencement of the Revolutionary War. The Colonel, like General Washington, received only the rudiments of an English education, and studied surveying. Wilkes county was then just being settled, and there was great demand for the services of some one to survey the lands of the settlers and mark out their boundaries. No doubt the Colonel found this a profitable employment, and it made him acquainted with all the people of the county. He was chosen their first representative in the Legislature, in 1778. In 1779 he was elected to the State Senate. He had risen also from the rank of an ensign in the militia to that of captain of a company.

The Cherokee Indians annoyed the settlers of Wilkes county very much about this time, and their depredations and assassinations continued until the expedition of

General Rutherford, of North Carolina, and General Williamson, of South Carolina, put a stop to them. Colonel Cleveland commanded a company in this expedition, under General Rutherford. The privations, hardships and suffering of the soldiers and officers, as described by General Lenoir, who was a lieutenant in Cleveland's company, were very great indeed, and almost incredible. But Cleveland was at that time a perfect athlete, with a large frame and an iron constitution, capable of enduring almost any fatigue and hardship. He was bold, fearless and self-willed, full of hope and buoyancy of spirits. He was accustomed to the forest and climbing mountains in hunting wild animals and surveying.

This expedition of Rutherford and Williamson completely subdued the Cherokee nation. Their cornfields were destroyed and their towns and villages burnt. But on the return of the troops, having subdued one enemy, they found another at home in their midst. The tories of that region of country were nothing more nor less than robbers, plunderers and assassins. Their depredations were, perhaps, worse than those of the Indians. Colonel Cleveland was the chief commander and leader of the whigs. Wheeler, in his *History of North Carolina*, says: "Cleveland was the leader of a hundred fights with the tories." On some occasion he apprehended two of their outlaws, Jones and Coil, and hung them! Soon afterwards, whilst all alone, Cleveland himself was captured by the tories, and they told him to write passes for them. He was an indifferent scribe, wrote slowly, and was in no hurry to finish his task, for he believed they intended to kill him after he had written their papers. Whilst thus engaged in writing, his brother, Robert Cleveland, came up with a party of whigs, fired on the tories, and secured his brother. Riddle, who commanded this tory company, was afterwards captured, with his son and another follower, carried before Cleveland, and by his orders all three of them were hung near

the Mulberry Meeting House, now Wilkesboro'. General Lenoir relates another instance of Cleveland's summary punishment of a tory thief. The General, who was then a captain in Colonel Cleveland's regiment, apprehended a fellow stealing his stirrups from his saddle. He carried him to the Colonel who ordered his thumbs to be put in a notch in an arbor fork, and receive fifteen lashes. This, says the General, gave origin to the expression, "*to the notch.*" It may well be supposed that Cleveland was, as the historian states, "*the terror of the tories.*"

After the capture of Charleston, and the defeat of General Gates at Camden, Lord Cornwallis thought South Carolina was completely subdued, and that the time had arrived when he might rally all the tories, disaffected and timid, to his standard. For this purpose he sent Colonel Ferguson, a bold, daring, skilful and active officer of the British army, to stir up the loyalists in the upper parts of North and South Carolina. Botta, the Italian Historian of the American Revolution, whose work is a most admirable one, says the greater part of those who repaired to Colonel Ferguson's standard, "were of the most profligate and most ferocious description of men." "Believing anything admissible with the sanction of their chief, they put everything on their passage *to fire and sword!*" These atrocious excesses inflamed the whigs with the desire of revenge. Without any authority from Congress or the State authorities, they assembled and demanded of their officers to lead them on to battle. They had no commissaries or quartermasters, no provision or baggage wagons. Each man carried his wallet, and his blanket and his gun. They slept on the earth, and slaked their thirst in the streams they passed over. Their only food was ears of corn parched and pumpkins roasted.

These brave mountaineers were under the command of Colonel Campbell, of Virginia, Colonels Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier and McDowell, of North Carolina, and Colonels Williams, Lacey, Hawthorn and Hill, of South

Carolina. Their united forces numbered sixteen hundred. They selected one thousand of this number and mounted them on their fleetest horses, who overtook Ferguson at King's Mountain. The troops were divided into three divisions, under Colonels Lacey, Campbell and Cleveland. Lacey with the South Carolinians commenced the attack on the west. The other two attacked on the east and in the centre. They had rode all night in pursuit of Ferguson, who was aware of their pursuit. It is said that when he came to King's Mountain he profanely exclaimed, "this is a position from which God Almighty cannot drive us!"

Dr. David Ramsay, in his History of the United States, says that Colonel Cleveland addressed his command before going into battle "in the following plain unvarnished language," which showed his good sense and knowledge of human nature :

"My brave fellows! We have beat the tories and we can beat them again. They are all cowardly. If they had the spirit of men, they would join with their fellow-citizens in supporting the independence of their country. When engaged you are not to wait for the word of command from me. I will show you by my example how to fight. I can undertake no more. Every man must consider himself an officer and act from his own judgment. Fire as quick as you can and stand as long as you can. When you can do no better get behind trees, or retreat; but I beg of you not to run quite off. If we be repulsed, let us make a point to return and renew the fight. Perhaps we may have better luck in the second attempt than in the first. If any of you be scared, such have leave to retire; and they are requested immediately to take themselves off."

It is very likely this "plain unvarnished" speech had a most salutary influence on the minds of the soldiers. It was obeyed in the fight to the very letter. They did get behind trees and rocks and fired. They were repelled and did "not run quite off." They came back to the

charge and renewed the fight. They did "have better luck in the second attempt." Colonel Ferguson, who fought desperately, was shot down, and his command immediately surrendered. There were eight hundred prisoners taken, and two hundred and twenty-five killed and wounded. The loss of the whigs was very small. But in this small number was Colonel Williams, of Ninety-Six, a bold and gallant officer, who was willing to offer up his life on the altar of his country for her independence and liberty. Ten of the tories were hung for their crimes and in retaliation for the whigs who had been executed in Georgia and South Carolina. Some of these ten were very prominent men, and had no doubt been active in stirring up the lawless "ferocious men" who had committed so many atrocious acts on the whigs. Colonel Cleveland knew them, and he was not the man to pass lightly over atrocious acts committed on his friends and neighbors. There was no sickly humanity about him. He was a just man and a bold, fearless man, not afraid to punish when punishment was merited. He was a stern man, and loved justice more than he did mercy. He knew that very often mercy to a criminal was death to an innocent man.

There is no doubt that most of the tories in the upper part of South Carolina and North Carolina joined the English for the purpose of plundering and robbing. They had no more political principle than they had moral principle. If they joined the whigs, there were no English for them to rob and plunder in the night. Therefore all the unprincipled and vicious became tories, to plunder and steal. They cared nothing for either king or country. Their leaders thought the rebellion would ultimately be suppressed, and they would be rewarded for their loyalty with office and honor, like the recreant sons of the Carolinas of the present day, when under the radical *regiment*.

The battle of King's Mountain, in which Colonel Cleveland acted so conspicuous a part, was the turning point of the American Revolution. Everything went better

for the Continental Congress afterwards. General Cornwallis was checked in his march into Virginia. The battle of the Cowpens took place in January following. General Green, having taken command of the Southern army, fought the battle of Guilford Court House. Cornwallis marched on, and his whole army was captured at Yorktown.

After this great victory at King's Mountain, the militia, who had volunteered their services, returned home, like the Scotch Highlanders who always went home after a victory, and would then return to the army again, after resting and recruiting and enjoying their spoils. Colonel Cleveland no doubt went home with his brave troops, and I have no information as to his subsequent military career. He may have been in the battle of Guilford, and Wheeler states that he was; but without giving any particulars of his services, and I do not know that any other historian mentions the fact. It is not likely, however, that the bold, fearless and enterprising patriotism of Cleveland could be idle whilst the war continued.

In the history of North Carolina, Wheeler states that Colonel Ben. Cleveland, the hero of King's Mountain, "lived and died in Wilkes County, N. C.!" This is a mistake, and I am surprised that it should have been made. Shortly after the close of the Revolutionary War, Colonel Ben. Cleveland moved to South Carolina and settled on the Tuguloo River, in Pendleton District, now Oconee County, and there he died, and now lies buried there, as I have already stated. The exact time of his removal I cannot give. My father moved from Greenville into the same neighborhood where Colonel Cleveland resided in 1788. I have often heard him say that when he and his brother, Nathaniel Perry, opened their store, five or six miles below Colonel Cleveland's, the old Colonel and his two sons, John and Absalom, and his son-in-law, who lived in North Carolina and was a General, but whose name I have forgotten, came down to pay them a visit and trade with them. John Cleveland,

who was an intemperate man, and full of fun and mischief, had acquired the *soubriquet* of "Devil John." He introduced himself to my father by that name, and said that he expected to trade and drink a good deal with him, but that as my father and brother seemed to be genteel young men, he would behave himself genteelly whilst at their store. This promise he kept, and my father thought well of him; but he was afterwards killed in some drunken row in Georgia.

The following extract of a letter received from one of Colonel Benjamin Cleveland's great-nieces, is interesting, and gives an account of the old Hero's descendants.

"Colonel Benjamin Cleveland was born in Virginia, and with my grandfather moved to North Carolina probably in the year 1775, and settled on the Yadkin, in Wilkes County, where he remained until after the Revolution.

"The regiment which did such effective service, and which Colonel Cleveland led with such distinguished gallantry at the battle of King's Mountain, was composed of hardy mountaineers. Men that slept upon the heather, men that quaffed the mountain rill, drawn from the counties of Surry and Wilkes.

"My grandfather, Robert Cleveland, was in command of a company in his brother's regiment, and his nephew, Jesse Franklin, afterwards Governor of North Carolina, was the Adjutant. I have often heard my father say the distinguishing traits of Colonel Cleveland's character were indomitable courage and iron will.

"It seems from Wheeler's History that he aided his country not only in 'arms,' but also in 'council,' serving for several years in both branches of the Legislature.

"At what time Colonel Cleveland removed to South Carolina and settled in Pendleton District I do not know. He had only two sons, John and Absalom. John was a man of good abilities, but died early from intemperance, leaving four daughters and two sons, Benjamin and Fouché Cleveland. These the grandfather took and educated. The daughters married prominent men in

the State of Georgia; one, Colonel James Smith, a lawyer of Macon, another a relative, a Mr. Franklin, of Athens, and their only daughter married Governor McDonald.

"General Ben. Cleveland was, I believe, a member for some years of the Georgia Legislature. His daughter, Catherine, married General Rush, of Texas. Many years ago I had the pleasure of meeting with the General and hearing him make a most sensible speech in the United States Senate.

"Colonel Cleveland has had, and still has, many descendants who reflect credit on his name. Colonel Robert Smith, his great-grandson, the Christian soldier and gentleman, fell at the battle of Malvern Hill, gallantly leading the 44th Georgia Regiment into action. And his great-great granddaughter, Mrs. Eliza Harper, of Minden, La., is well known in the world of letters as a poetess and fine writer of prose."

Absalom Cleveland, the other son of old Colonel Ben. Cleveland, was very eccentric, and in the latter part of his life, deranged. For several years he refused to say a word to any one, and the first time he spoke after his long silence, was to tell a servant who was putting wood on the fire to "stop," that he had put enough on! Before his death he in a great measure recovered his mind, and made his will which was contested in court, and established. I was of counsel for the executor in the trial of the case. He left one daughter, I know, who married Thomas Horthen, of Oconee County. He may have had other children.

In 1841 the Legislature of North Carolina formed a new county out of Rutherford and Lincoln Counties, and named it Cleveland, in honor of the memory of the old hero of King's Mountain. This was nothing more than an act of merited justice on the part of the State to one who did such gallant service in the Revolutionary War. In the battle of King's Mountain Colonel Cleveland captured an English drum which he kept and exhibited to his friends who visited him at his residence on the

Tuguloo River. I remember hearing Judge Clayton, of Georgia, speak of seeing this drum on one of his visits to the old Colonel. What became of it I cannot ascertain. It would be an interesting relic to exhibit at the centennial celebration of the battle of King's Mountain.

Colonel Benjamin Cleveland had two brothers and a sister, and he may have had others. Robert Cleveland, one of his brothers, and a captain in his regiment at the battle of King's Mountain, was the father of Captain Jeremiah Cleveland, the patriarch of Greenville, and Jesse Cleveland of Spartanburg, both remarkable for their good sense, wisdom, practical judgment and integrity of character. His brother, John Cleveland, was a Baptist preacher, and very successful in his addition of members to his church, on Chaugo River, Oconee County. He used to baptize as many as fifty on a Sabbath, and it is said that he once remarked, "if one in ten proved to be good Christians, he had made a good haul." His sister married a gentleman by the name of Franklin and was the father of Governor Franklin of North Carolina.

It is said in Wheeler's History of North Carolina that Colonel Cleveland had an impediment in his speech which prevented his engaging in public life. I never heard of this impediment before, and doubt its accuracy. There is no doubt that if Colonel Cleveland had been educated he would have been a great and distinguished man, more so than he was. He was, as I have already said, a great man by nature. But in his day there were few schools, academies and colleges in the land, and a scholar in the backwoods of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, was a rare thing. Most of the patriots and heroes of the Revolution in this region of country were illiterate men. Hence, justice has never been done to their services and memory. A great many battles were fought and gallant actions achieved which, had they occurred in the Northern States, would have been blazoned in history.

The farm on which Colonel Cleveland lived, after his removal to South Carolina, and where his remains lie buried, now belongs to Dr. William Earle. It is situated in the fork of Tuguloo and Chaugo Rivers, in Oconee County. The house in which he lived was a large wooden framed building, on the banks of the Tuguloo, commanding a fine view of the river for miles, and beautifully situated. It was afterwards burned down, and I remember seeing, whilst a boy, the chimneys still standing. The farm is a valuable one, although it has now been in cultivation nearly a century. A large portion of it consists of rich low grounds on the Tuguloo River. The country around is broken and full of hills, The mountains, too, of Georgia and South Carolina are close by, and present a grand panoramic view to the spectator.

NOTE.—Since the above sketch was written a monument has been erected over the resting-place of Colonel Cleveland, by his relatives.

COLONEL BENJAMIN ROEBUCK.

Nobility of nature, like genius, must be born with the man, or he can never attain it by education and association. In the humblest ranks of life some men are born noblemen, whilst in the most polished, refined society there are others born with scarcely a single virtue. To be brave, honorable, magnanimous and patriotic, the man must be so by nature. These high qualities are what no art can acquire, nor education give. How often do we find the rarest virtues, as well as the rarest genius, in the humblest ranks of society. Shakespeare, Burns, Franklin and innumerable others, who have cast a halo of glory around their names, are happy illustrations of the latter assertion.

Colonel Benjamin Roebuck, the subject of this biographical sketch, was an instance of an humble and uneducated man, possessing all the great virtues which can adorn the human character. He was brave amongst the brave, patriotic, magnanimous, amiable and honorable. He was the *beau ideal* of a soldier and gentleman with his companions in arms. He inspired them with respect and admiration on all occasions and under all circumstances. They had implicit confidence in his courage, prudence and justice. He was modest, unselfish and unambitious. He sought only to serve his country and defend her independence and liberty. This was his sole ambition, and he discharged every duty of his life with honor and integrity. He sought no popularity or official position. When the latter was given him, and he thought he could discharge its duties to the interest of his country, he did not refuse it. He shrank from no danger or responsibility in the discharge of his duty. He fought through the whole of

the Revolutionary war, commanded a regiment in several important battles, was the idol of his command, and yet his name is not mentioned in history, and his virtues, patriotism and public services are only remembered in tradition.

Many years ago, almost half a century since, I met a gentleman of Spartanburg, whose father was an intimate companion-in-arms of Colonel Roebuck, and the lieutenant-colonel of his regiment, who gave me a full account of the services and character of this modest and unassuming patriot and colonel of the Revolution. I must confess that it made a deep impression on my mind and set me to making further inquiry about Colonel Roebuck. The more I heard of him the more I admired his character as a man and an officer, and I pronounced him in one of my Revolutionary Incidents published many years ago in the "Magnolia," one of nature's noblemen and the *beau ideal* of a brave officer.

I met a great many men who had served under Colonel Roebuck at the anniversary of the battle of the Cowpens in 1832. They all spoke of him in the same exalted strain, as a man, an officer and patriot. The name, too, "*cervus capriolus*," a species of deer with erect horns, elegant shape, remarkably nimble and found in the mountains, made an impression on my mind. It seemed to me a beautiful name, and as euphonious as that of Plantagenet, the name of an illustrious line of English sovereigns, which signifies a *broom* in Norman French.

After the fall of Charleston, in May, 1780, the condition of South Carolina was generally regarded as hopeless. The British forces were scattered all over the State, and there was no regular army to oppose them. Mr. Madison introduced resolutions in the Continental Congress to treat with Great Britain by surrendering South Carolina and Georgia as Royal Provinces. An address was presented to Lord Cornwallis, signed by several hundred citizens of Charleston, congratulating

his lordship on the conquest of the State. The timid and time-serving went and took British protection. The tories, who were mostly men of no moral or political principle, but who had espoused the Royal cause for the sake of plundering and robbing, were greatly encouraged by the condition of affairs, and committed the most atrocious acts all over the country. Dark, indeed, were the prospects of independence and liberty everywhere. But there were a few noble spirits, like Sumter, Marion and Roebuck, who never despaired of their country, nor relaxed in their efforts to serve her in the darkest period of her distress and despondency. They rallied around them a few of their bravest and most devoted partisans, and sought every opportunity of harassing the English and fighting the tories.

Colonel Benjamin Roebuck was born in Virginia, a State from which most of the early settlers of the upper part of South Carolina came, whilst the lower country was settled two-thirds of a century earlier by immigrants from England, France, Ireland and Scotland. His father moved from Virginia with his family some years previous to the American Revolution, and settled near Blackstocks, in Spartanburg District. He was, like all such emigrants, in moderate circumstances, and came to South Carolina to better his condition. Benjamin was quite young at the time of his father's removal, and his education consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic, enough to develop a great and good man, where talents and virtues are innate. As he grew up to man's estate, the Revolution broke out, and he espoused the cause of his country with ardor and firmness. His patriotic associates rallied around him, and looked to him as their leader, as well in war as in peace. He was the terror of the tories in that section of the State, who were mostly plunderers, horse-thieves and assassins. Many were the skirmishes which he and his noble band of followers had with these lawless banditti, who cared for neither king nor country.

The first regular battle in which he was engaged was on the 18th day of August, 1780, under that gallant partisan officer, Colonel Williams, of Ninety-Six, who rendered up his life for his country at King's Mountain. This battle was fought at Musgrove's Mills, on the Enoree River. Colonel Williams had been active in collecting and animating the friends of liberty and independence. Colonel Tunis of the South Carolina Royalists was wounded and his entire command dispersed. This was almost the first check the British received after the fall of Charleston, and did much to inspire the drooping spirits of the Whigs in that section of the State with the hope of their country's ultimate success. In less than two months after the battle of Musgrove's Mills, Colonel Williams led his little band of patriots in search of Colonel Ferguson and his tory recruits. At the Cowpens he joined the forces from Virginia and North Carolina, under Campbell, Cleveland, Shelby and Sevier. They marched all night and overtook Ferguson at King's Mountain, on the 7th of October, and gained a great victory, capturing the whole British and tory forces, consisting of eleven or twelve hundred men, one hundred of whom were regulars. What command Roebuck had under Colonel Williams in this battle is not known. Captain Thomas Young, in his memoirs published in "Johnson's Traditions of the Revolution," says: "When our division came up to the northern base of the mountain, we dismounted, and Colonel Roebuck drew us a little to the left and commenced the attack."

Colonel Roebuck was in the battle of Blackstocks, under General Sumter, on the 20th of November, 1780, where General Sumter was badly wounded, and the command of his forces devolved on Colonel Twiggs, of Georgia. Colonel Tarleton commanded the British forces, commenced the attack and was driven from the field with considerable loss. The forces engaged in this battle were considerable on both sides, and Congress voted General Sumter their thanks for his victory.

In July, 1780, was fought the battle of Cedar Springs, under Colonel Clark, of Georgia, in which Colonel Roebuck took an active part. Major Dunlap, of the British army, with sixty well-equipped dragoons, and one hundred and fifty mounted riflemen, commenced the attack about daylight, and was driven from the field in the course of fifteen or twenty minutes, with the loss of thirty or forty of his men left dead on the ground. Colonel Clark received a severe wound on the head, and had four killed and twenty-three wounded.

In the battle of Cowpens Colonel Roebuck commanded a regiment. This was fought on the 17th of January, 1781. Colonel Pickens commanded the militia, Colonel Howard the Continentals, Colonel Washington the cavalry, and General Morgan was in command of the whole army. The British were under the command of Colonel Tarleton, consisting of one thousand regulars, whilst Morgan's force was only eight hundred, and two-thirds of them were militia. This was one of the most extraordinary battles of the whole Revolution. Dr. Ramsay, in his *History of South Carolina*, says: "The glory and importance of this battle resounded from one end of the continent to the other. It reanimated the desponding friends of America, and seemed to be like a resurrection from the dead, to the Southern States."

In the summer of 1781, Colonel Roebuck determined to break up the headquarters of the Tories and out-lyers at Williams' Fort on Mud Creek, in "Newberry District." The strength of his regiment was only one hundred and fifty men. But with this small force he and his brave lieutenant, Colonel Henry White, thought they could roust the enemy by a stratagem. There were a few British soldiers in the front, and a large number of lawless Tories, who had been committing all sorts of depredations on the Whigs in that section of the State. Colonel Roebuck ordered a portion of his mounted riflemen to show themselves in front of the fort to draw out the garrison, and make a hasty retreat. In the mean-

time his infantry were most advantageously posted in the woods, concealed from the enemy. The manœuvre was successful. The garrison came out in full force, commenced a hot pursuit, and were fired on by Colonel Roebuck's regiment, with most fatal effect. After a sharp and destructive engagement of a few minutes, the tories fled and the fort was captured. Lieutenant-Colonel White was badly wounded, and Captain Robert Thomas, a most gallant and beloved officer, was killed. This victory gave peace to that section of the country.

Colonel Roebuck was at the siege of Ninety-Six, with his regiment, under General Green. He was there captured by the enemy, and carried a prisoner to Charleston, where he was confined for a length of time, greatly exposed, and caught a cold which terminated in consumption. He lived only to see the independence of his country established, and death deprived him of the enjoyment of that liberty for which he fought so long and so gallantly.

Colonel Roebuck was never married, and died as he had always lived, in his father's house. It is to be regretted that so pure and noble a gentleman left no descendants to inherit his virtues, his name and his fame. But kindred blood of his flows in the veins of many of the most respectable families of Spartanburg. The Honorable Simpson Bobo, a learned and distinguished member of the Bar, is the son of Colonel Roebuck's sister. Nor is his name extinct in the Spartanburg District. I met one who bore that honored and euphonious name, in the Confederate army, immediately after the first battle of Manassas.

It may well be asked why such a hero and patriot, as I have considered Colonel Roebuck to be, is not better known in history? The answer is, that there were no writers of history in the upper part of South Carolina during the American Revolution; and history has ignored the gallant achievements of her brave and protracted sons. Dr. Ramsay, in his History of South

Carolina, regrets that no one has furnished him with a detailed account of the movements of Sumter and Pickens, as was done with Marion's brigade. When I recall the names of Pickens, Butler, Roebuck, Thomas and Samuel Earle and many, very many others, who fought so gallantly in the American Revolution, I am forcibly reminded of Gray's most beautiful and touching Elegy on a country churchyard, *where many a hero lies buried, unknown to fame.*

Letter from DR. F. PEYRE PORCHER.

Charleston, S. C., January 3, 1888.

MRS. B. F. PERRY :

Dear Madam.—I feel greatly obliged to you for the privilege of reading the Memorial of Governor Perry and his Address before the Students of Erskine College. Both of these publications will prove extremely useful to the people of the State; and I am glad that through your wise and pious instrumentality they have been disseminated.

The "Address" teaches the value of character and of industry whilst giving instructive sketches of the lives of those who have furnished the most conspicuous examples of these qualities. The testimony afforded by the "Memorial" practically illustrates the exercise of moral courage—that highest virtue—the possession of which enabled your husband to face the overwhelming opposition even of those nearest and dearest to him. I witnessed one of these exhibitions, and could never recall it without applying the lines :

"Most master of himself and least encumbered
When overmatched, entangled and outnumbered."

As has been truly said, he was built upon the Roman mould; and when surrounded by the popular fury, and the clamor of the multitude was urging on to unhappy measures, to him might, without exaggeration, be applied the description of Cato :—

"*Et cuncta terrarum subacta—
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.*"

"The whole world was subdued—
Save the inexorable soul of Cato."

The ancients had a maxim, the justness of which is also strikingly exemplified in the life of Governor Perry. This was, "*Respice finem.*" By it we are commanded never to be hasty or precipitate in our judgment, but to wait and estimate the value of a man's life at the end of his career, when all of his methods have had time to mature and bear fruit. His life has taught us all that time only was required to show the *superiority of his views*, the *depth of his insight*, and the *wisdom of his plans*.

Hoping to see in print also the address delivered before the Faculty and Graduates of the Medical College in this city, which was listened to with the greatest interest.

Letter from JAMES P. ADAMS.

Congaree, S. C., September 30, 1887.

MRS. B. F. PERRY:

Dear Madam.—Please accept my thanks for sending me a copy of the Memorial Pamphlet of your deceased husband, the late Governor B. F. Perry.

It is a worthy tribute to the virtues and abilities of a distinguished Carolinian. The future historian of South Carolina will place him among the remarkable men who lived at a period of her history fruitful of great men.

Though many years the junior of Governor Perry, in reading the pamphlet, I recall many incidents of his career with which I was personally acquainted. I differed with him on many of the great political issues which agitated the State; but I always admired his fidelity to principle, and the Roman firmness with which he maintained what he conceived to be the right.

He was no "time-serving" politician, swayed by popular opinion, but a statesman, who possessed, to a remarkable degree, the courage of his convictions. He would rather be right alone than wrong with many.

I remember an instance of this trait of his character when the Legislature of South Carolina passed the Act calling the convention to frame the ordinance of secession. I was a member of the Legislature at the time, and, when the bill came up on its final passage in the House, Mr. Perry, afterwards Governor, voted the solitary negative that was cast against it.

This action, which was in opposition to the overwhelming sentiment of the State, I have always regarded as an instance of moral heroism, worthy of "Plutarch's men."

There are many things I could write about the career of your distinguished husband; for his name from my boyhood has been as "familiar to me as household words," but they would be out of place in a mere letter of acknowledgment.

He leaves behind him for the example of the youth of the State: "*Nomen, venerabile, clarumque.*"

Letter from Col. JOSEPH N. BROWN, an ex-Confederate Colonel.

Anderson, S. C., November 9, 1887.

Mrs. B. F. PERRY:

Dear Madam.—I have received the second edition of the Memorial of the late ex-Governor B. F. Perry and address before the Literary Societies of Erskine College, for which please accept my thanks. I esteem them the most valued treasures of my library.

It was my fortune once to witness one of those grand displays of his boldness and independence, prompted by his convictions, for which he was noted.

It was during the recess of the court at Laurens, on the 7th of November, 1860, when the news of Lincoln's election reached us. Then followed the news that the

U. S. District Judge, District Attorney and Marshal had resigned. All had arisen to their feet, and several, including the Judge, exclaimed: "they did right." Major Perry, standing erect, and taller than the others, exclaimed: "I say they did *wrong*, and it's on the road to ruin." His appearance and manner of expression impressed me more of his greatness of character, which I shall *never* forget. I thought of it frequently during the last days of the Confederacy in the spring of 1865, when the limits of our then country were being rapidly drawing in daily, and our flags as well as our uniforms were fading and becoming tattered in sympathy with it. In common with my countrymen I should add, that I differed with him on that occasion, and helped to bring on the ruin which followed.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY A GENTLE-
MAN IN CHARLESTON TO GOV. PERRY.

August 7, 1870.

"On another occasion, and that was the morning after I had seen you on the stage in the memorable Convention, standing with folded arms and head erect, facing the throng of hisses, who with yelling and hideous noise attempted to put you down, and at length were silenced no doubt by a desire to hear what one solitary individual would say in opposition to such a united assembly. And when you were allowed to speak, you with outstretched arm and warning finger, pointed out the natural effects of such madness as they have so fearfully and sadly realized since.

"If I possessed the artist's power, and could use his pencil, then would I paint that picture. It will ever

remain on my memory. The picture of Bonaparte crossing the Alps. The battle of Waterloo, or the landing of the Pilgrims, or the signing of the Declaration of Independence would be no richer scene, or be of more consequence than the mad cut of that day to our now afflicted Southern States. But to return to my friend, Mr. Pettigru, meeting him next morning at the corner of King and Broad streets, I said: 'Mr. Pettigru, what do you think of the stand taken yesterday by Colonel Perry, who it seems to me towered head and shoulders above all in that vast assembly?' Said Mr. Pettigru in his shrillest tones, 'friend——, you don't know Perry as I do—he would stand and fight, whilst all those who hissed and hooted at him, would run away. I am now on my way to his rooms to congratulate him on the noble stand he took.' You, my dear sir, who knew Mr. Pettigru, can imagine his voice, his look, his manner as he uttered these words. It looks tame on paper. I was not then personally acquainted with you, but I knew you had been thirty years fighting to preserve the Union, I had been one of the humble followers who had kept you in view as a text book."

Letter from REV. H. MELVILLE JACKSON.

300 W. Franklin St., Richmond, Va.,
December 13, 1886.

MY DEAR MRS. PERRY.—To-day for the first time I learn of the great bereavement which has fallen upon you. I can measure somewhat the force of the blow, as those who have suffered can always appreciate the suffering of others; the chord of pain once struck in any bosom will not fail to vibrate again at the touch of sympathy. Ah! my dear friend, I knew your husband but slightly compared with the knowledge possessed by those who lived for years under the genial influence of his presence; but I yield to none in admiration of his splendid qualities, both as man and statesman. He

came nearer to my ideal of a public man—a man of affairs—than any I have ever known. Massive the powers of his intellect; stalwart the soul of him; grandly faithful—a very tower of truth. His was a character the possession of which is an education to a community, a State, a country. In these times, when a nascent degeneracy threatens to breed for us a puny people, it is something to have known such a man and to hold in one's memory a figure of such noble proportion. You have for a time lost *him*, but you have not lost the solacing comfort which his greatness reflects. Surely of him the engraver can carve with truth upon the stone which marks his final resting place: "The world is better that he lived."

I know that in your loneliness there is a pleasure, sad but sweet, in musing on the memory of what he was, and the proud consolation is yours that he gave you a name which he never tarnished, but which he splendedored with the sunlit glories of nobility, fidelity and truth.

Better consolations are yours, for the earth-born can never equal the heavenly.

May the peace of God be on you, and the consolation of the Gospel of His Son your strong support. I ask of Him who ruleth over all, to manifest Himself to you as the God of the widowed, and that He will make proof to you of the everlasting truth of His promise: "As thy day is so shall thy strength be."

As for me, I can only tell you that my soul is stricken, and my sympathy for you goes out strongly from an unfeigned heart.

Letter from REV. JAMES P. BOYCE,
Professor in Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.

Louisville, Ky., March 28th, 1887.

MY DEAR MRS. PERRY.—Upon my return Saturday from a few days' absence I found the pamphlet you had sent me. I am very glad that you have reprinted this address of your distinguished husband, thus over forty years after its delivery at Erskine College. It is like old wine; it is better than new. Would that its words of wisdom may make a deep impress upon the minds of many now young, and of many yet unborn who, though not privileged to have known Governor Perry save by report, will yet partake in this way of that wisdom which he so illustriously displayed among those who knew him personally. I esteem it one of my greatest privileges of life to have enjoyed his friendship and confidence. The purity of his character, the nobility and fearlessness of his nature, his firm maintenance of what he thought right and just and patriotic in the midst of contrary influences of the good and great, and in defiance of the detraction of the base and mean, give a force that cannot be measured to all his words of morality and virtue. He was one of the very few who could handle the pitch of political life and not be defiled. I thank God for the example given in him of one so pure and true a man. No one can tell what an influence it had upon his day and generation. I am glad that you will aid in perpetuating it through the reprint of this pamphlet.

Eulogy by HON. JOHN D. ASHEMORE.

The following, written in pencil in 1870, by the late John D. Ashmore, Representative in the Congress of 1858-59, from the Fourth District of South Carolina, was found in the back of a volume of Walter Scott, borrowed by that gentleman from Governor Perry's library and subsequently returned :

"HON. B. F. PERRY, Greenville C. H., S. C."

"Pencilled by a friend and admirer, and one who has known him, boy and man, for well nigh forty years, and has been for more than half that period associated with him more or less in the councils of this distracted and now well-nigh ruined country, and who can with truth and sincerity assert and proclaim him to be the most truthful, sincere, upright and honest statesman, as well as the purest, and by far the most reliable man it has ever been the fortune of him who now pens these words ever to have met; a man whom it is an honor to know, possessed of more moral courage than any one of the many hundreds with whom he has been most intimately associated in the trying scenes through which this country has been of late years called on to pass, and of whom it can be truthfully said, 'he is a man without blur or blemish.' Above disguise and meanness in all things, with heart and character pure as the crystal drops that form the mountain stream, and wise as the Sages of Scripture, the Consuls of Rome, or the Satraps of the East, and in patriotism high and pure as that of the 'Father of his country,' himself, and manifesting a wisdom, sagacity, penetration and statesmanship in the recent unhappy struggles of his country, far beyond that of any living man.

"Oh! that his counsel and wisdom had been followed and carried out as the guiding star of our cause, that a nation might rise up and call him 'blessed;' for full well would he have merited the blessing and been

entitled to the proud distinction 'of the saviour of his country.' But alas! alas! his counsels have been set aside, his country a doomed wreck, and he with all the rest of us victims to the mad lust of power and misrule which has overwhelmed country and countrymen in one common vortex of ruin. When the hand that pencils these lines is cold in death, and the nature's nobleman to whom they are dedicated is recalled to his fathers, and his memory alone is left to be cherished by his family, friends, kindred, and countrymen, let them not be effaced, but remain as a feeble tribute from one who has known him long and known him well, and though often differing with him in judgment, has almost invariably found by the test of scrutiny and of time, his own error, while it has also vindicated the correctness and accuracy of the views of this 'nature's nobleman,' the Hon. Benjamin F. Perry, of Greenville, S. C."

A MONUMENT TO GOVERNOR PERRY.

A handsome and imposing monument has been erected over the grave of ex-Governor Benjamin Franklin Perry in the cemetery of Christ Episcopal Church, in Greenville. The monument is of a design, chaste and beautiful and befitting the character of the noble patriot and statesman, whose memory it will commemorate. It stands in the southeast corner of the family burying lot, rising to a height of twenty feet from the grass sod at its feet.

The monument made and erected by Van Gunden & Young of Philadelphia, Pa., is of Barre granite. It consists of three bases, supporting a die, upon which rests a cap, from which in turn rises the pyramidal spire. The lower base is plain. On the western face of the second base is the name "Perry," sculptured in bold letters in relief. There are no other inscriptions on the bases.

On each of the four faces of the die are raised tablets, on the polished face of which are lettered the inscriptions. The western face contains the following:

In memory of
BENJ. FRANKLIN PERRY,
Born
November 20, 1805.
Died
December 3, 1886.

On the opposite face of the die appears the following inscription:

District Judge
and
District Attorney
of the
Southern Confederacy.
State Senator and
Provisional Governor
of South Carolina
and
United States Senator
elect.

On the southern tablet are the words, "The world is better that he lived," and on the northern side, "Safe in the keeping of everlasting love."

The shaft that rises from the cap of the die is plain, except that on the western face is an artistic monogram of the letters "B. F. P." comprising the governor's initials.

The whole effect of the monument is impressive. It stands next to the grave of the young daughter of Governor and Mrs. Perry, and the contrast thus brought to pass between the sturdy statesman, dead in the ripeness of an honored old age, and the maiden taken in the flower of youth and loveliness, heightens the impressiveness of the solid granite shaft.—*Greenville News*.

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ERRATA.

Page 10, ninth line, seven children should be nine.

" 14, twenty-fourth line, powers should be power.

" 47, second line from bottom, imperfect should be imperial.

" 60, twelfth line from bottom, not is left out, should be, Let not the voice.

" 82, fifth line from bottom, convert should be covert and insidious.

" 94, fourth line from bottom, the should be left out, to read, of beauty.

" 158, sixteenth line from bottom, his should be this.

" 179, seventh line from top, editor should be editors.

" 187, eighteenth line from bottom, cavalling should be cavilling.

" 192, ninth line from top, is should be as.

" 203, letter accepting nomination for Congress was placed after the pages were numbered and forms printed.

" 204, the date of year 1872 is omitted.

" 212, the date of year 1872 is omitted.

" 217, fifteenth line from bottom, stagarile should be stagarite.

" 225, tenth line from bottom, histories should be historians.

" 228, tenth line from bottom, wastes should be coasts.

" 236, fourth line from top, writing should be uniting.

" 237, sixteenth line from top, could should be would.

" 260, eleventh line from bottom, Raulin should be Rawlin.

" 271, eighteenth line from bottom should read, William taught.

" 548, second line from bottom, I was should read, and was.

" 551, thirteenth line from top, and transcendent should read, of transcendent.

" 579, sixteenth line from top, Petigru should be Pettigru.





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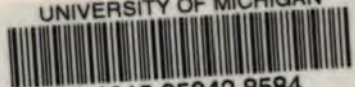


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